



A Foot

in the

Door

The British
Labour Party finally
gets a left leader



Michael Foot



SIZWE BANSI

South African hit at the
Shakespeare Festival

Page 12-13

THE INSIDE STORY



Berlinguer's Communist Party has commissioned sociological studies of FIAT employees to assess the changing attitudes toward work.

"Solidarity" will never be the same

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

Last Oct. 14, an estimated 40,000 FIAT employees demonstrated in Turin against a five-week worker strike and demanded to be allowed to go back to work. Within hours, frightened union leaders reached an agreement ending the strike.

The appearance of "the 40,000" renewed the controversy in Italy over the nature of today's working class. The people in the "right to work" procession were mostly males with neckties and without the beards that characterize radical workers. Their leader, Luigi Arisio, is a 53-year-old foreman who says he votes for the center parties, and the vast majority of the anti-strike marchers were FIAT foremen, junior executives or white-collar employees.

To many striking workers, those men are familiar enemies, the boss's stooges. But to the political parties they are an important social force, and to the Italian Communist Party (PCI), in particular, the potential pivot of the party's long-term strategy of alliance with the salaried "middle classes." To the unions, they represent the threat of a new organized adversary within the factories. Thus both the parties and the union leaders are hastening to bend to the right and try to neutralize this force before it takes on a definite hostile form of its own.

Giorgio Benvenuto, head of the Union of Italian Workers (UIL), the third largest of the country's trio of labor federations, said the demonstration of the 40,000 had convinced him that "the problems posed by those workers are real problems. Either we represent them, or conditions are created in Italy for the birth of another union. Therefore it is extremely urgent to modify our contractual policy to correct the leveling of wages and take professionalism more into account."

This issue (Vol. 5, No. 3) is published Nov. 19, 1980, for newsstand sales Nov. 19-25, 1980.

This will involve a strong effort to wrest decision making from worker assemblies dominated by radical vanguards. "It's unthinkable that major decisions are made in assemblies resembling bull fights," said Benvenuto. "Often people are intimidated by a minority that won't let them speak." He is less afraid of being further attacked from the left than of being reduced to "an isolated minority of 20 percent, like the French Communist Party." He points to a "cultural crisis" in the unions.

General Confederation of Italian Workers (CGIL, the largest confederation) secretary general Luciano Lama already braved worker anger several months ago to insist that "foremen are workers too." But the unions have been torn between conservative workers whose producer ethic seems necessary to national productivity and the radicals who set the tone in worker gatherings. The FIAT conflict provided an occasion for union leaders to try to discredit the radicals and turn their attention to wooing the conservatives.

Competing sociologies.

FIAT provides a good example of divisions within the working class that are reflected and distorted by rivalries between various political forces. Contrasting worker cultures exist side by side in the factories, identified and interpreted in conflicting ways by opposing parties.

Some months ago, the PCI commissioned its own sociological study of FIAT workers. It found that 45 percent were "collaborative," that is, thought collaboration was necessary and advantageous between workers and bosses, 30 percent were "conflictual," accepting collaboration only when contracted through collective bargaining, and 26 percent were "antagonistic" to any form of collaboration with the bosses because "our interests are opposed." The PCI sociologists concluded that the model for most Italian workers was not Russia but West Germany, and that social democracy was what they wanted.

This study, and the PCI's use of it, infuriated the left of the union movement—notably those who have been trying to expand democratic forms of organizations along the lines laid down by Bruno Trentin. They saw the survey as a deliberate, manipulated attempt to discredit the Factory Council union movement of the past decade by claiming that workers are really interested only in their paychecks, not in controlling their work conditions or addressing broad social and economic issues. This implies that the unions should stick to finding out precisely what the workers want and bargain to get it, leaving the big questions to the political parties, or to capitalist planners.

Yet throughout the '60s and '70s the whole thrust of the left of the union movement has been to involve workers collectively in major qualitative and economic issues that go beyond their corporatist self-interest. The very notion, implicit in the study, that the alternative models available to the Italian working class are either Russia or West Germany is deeply offensive to those unionists who have spent their lives developing an original course far more democratic than either of those.

But this creative union movement has in fact been stunted by the active hostility of ultra-revolutionaries on the one hand and growing worker apathy on the other. It is easy to cast suspicion on the intentions of those who speak in terms of long-range processes, and the ultra-revolutionaries reject the left union movement as a mere ploy to recuperate and stifle the revolution.

For some time, Italian sociologists have been noting the rise of the "job ethic" (take the paycheck and run) among Italian workers, at the expense of the "producer ethic" (to use David Moberg's useful terms). The prevailing political climate in Italy has meant that the job ethic, with its "rip-off-the-bosses" attitude, has initially often been expressed in ultra-revolutionary terms that have given it an easy hegemony in worker assemblies. The producer ethic has come to be identified with capitalist—or Communist—ruses to exploit the workers.

The culture of solidarity.

The unions have tried to bridge the two ethical attitudes toward work with a class consciousness—a culture of solidarity that justifies both the job ethic by awareness of exploitation in today's society and the producer ethic by hopes for satisfying creative work in the socialist society of the future. In practice, the culture of solidarity has remained very much alive on the emotional level, while the intellectual problems of transition have remained obscure. But this intellectual weakness can take its toll.

When the vision of socialist society dims, the rip-off mentality can settle in for the long haul, coexisting with a culture of solidarity that risks degenerating into a purely verbal form of sociability, a convenient conformism, even a hypocritical mask. The job ethic generates its own form of individualism that undermines worker solidarity. An example of such hypocrisy at FIAT has been the practice of taking sick leave on strike days.

Autonomia theorists hail the rip-off mentality as the spontaneous expression of needs that will create communism (to each according to his needs). Thus they encourage such impulses and applaud their disintegrating effect on working-class organizations. But so far it seems that most people have a much simpler sense of economics than the *autonomia* intellectuals and fancy that a certain balance must exist somewhere between production and consumption—and that those who consume without producing anything are cheating. The danger lies in the complementary relationship between rip-off individualism and the conservative form of individualism characteristic of the producer ethic when it tends to identify with the bosses. The widespread image of "job ethic" workers who care only for their paychecks set things up for Luigi Arisio and his "40,000 who want to work" to arrive on the industrial scene looking like heroes.

The nature of most industrial work today is unable to satisfy any genuine producer ethic, and the job ethic is imposed by consciousness of reality. The question is to what extent it makes workers too indifferent to the whole job scene to develop any alternative to workplace authoritarianism. Indifference justifies the foremen's role.

Left unionists of the Trentin persuasion insist that in fact workers do care about the quality of their work and productive relations, and that the role of unions should be to encourage workers to expand their concerns and areas of responsibility.

FIAT's solution, laying off 24,000 workers for 33 months at 93 percent of their pay provided by government unemployment compensation, was perceived by Italian workers as a trap, a device to weaken their solidarity—proof that the culture of solidarity is still strong. After letting themselves be studied by sociologists and answering all the survey questions, people may always turn around and act contrary. Whatever their interest as objects of study, Italian workers remain very active subjects of their own creative history. ■

(ISSN 0160-5992)

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, third week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor; John Judis, David Moberg, Associate Editors; Lee Aitken, Managing Editor; Patricia Aufderheide, Features & Culture Editor; David Roediger, Books Editor; John Echeverri-Gent, Josh Kornbluth, Editorial Assistants; Diana Johnstone (Paris), David Mandel (Jerusalem), Chris Mullin (London), Bruce Vandervort (Geneva), David Fleishman (Tokyo), Foreign Correspondents; Laurel Van Driest, Susanne Bachmann, James Cusick, Interns.

ART

Dolores Wilber, Jessie Bunn, Ann Tyler, Co-directors; Jim Rinnert, Composition; Paul Comstock, Camera.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, Co-publishers; Bob Nicklas, Associate Publisher; Al Staats, Executive Publisher; Bill Rehm, Advertising Director; Pat VanderMeer, Circulation Director; Leenie Folsom, Wendy Rosen, Circulation Assistants; Sophia Anastos, Office Manager; Grace Faustino, Bookkeeper; Christie Balka, Special Projects.

BUREAUS

BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, (617) 738-9707. DENVER: Timothy Lange, (303) 322-5315. PITTSBURGH: Eric Davin, (412) 421-7055. WASHINGTON, D.C.: Robert Howard, (202) 232-4942.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

Labour's leadership veers left

By Chris Mullin

LONDON

THE ELECTION OF MICHAEL FOOT as leader of the Labour Party could mark a final break with the consensus politics that have dominated the post-war era in Britain. For years, both the main political parties have been led by men who, despite rhetorical differences, basically agreed on all the main issues. In the Conservative Party, the election of Margaret Thatcher put an end to that era, but until now, Labour's parliamentary leaders seemed determined to cling to the same old mixture of discredited policies that have led them to defeat so often in the past.

The choice of Michael Foot could change all that. He's an old-fashioned radical rather than a left-winger, but the man he beat, Denis Healey, represented perhaps the last throw of the dice by the Labour Party's conservative parliamentary leadership. For years they have been battling to stay in control as the party moved steadily to the left; Foot's elevation may be a turning point in that battle.

Foot is a journalist by trade and a formidable orator. He first entered Parliament in 1945 and in the '50s achieved fame as a leader of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. In the '60s he was a staunch opponent of the American war in Vietnam.

But in the '70s Foot seemed to mellow. When Labour got back into government in 1974, the party's then-leader, Harold Wilson, needed a left-winger to make his regime look respectable to the mass of party members, and he chose Foot. It was a masterstroke. Entering government for the first time in his life at the age of 60, Foot was placed in charge of the Department of Employment at a time when the Labour government's policies resulted in a trebling of unemployment.

Every time some new, unpopular measure had to be justified, every time there was a call for wage restraint or workers had to be talked into accepting layoffs, Wilson sent Michael Foot to do the explaining. Within two years, Foot's reputation as a radical had disappeared, and he began to look tired and demoralized.

Nevertheless, when Wilson retired in 1976, Foot stood as a candidate to succeed him and, though he was beaten by James Callaghan, ran surprisingly well. Subsequently, he was chosen as Callaghan's deputy. By this time, the left of the Labour Party—apart from some sentimental souls who remembered the good old days of fiery oratory against the bomb and against the war—had largely written Foot off. Instead, those who held out any hope for socialist policies began to gather around the former Energy Secretary of the last Labour government, Tony Benn.

Among Labour Party activists, Benn is outstandingly the most popular political leader; he also has a substantial following in the country. But among the media and most of his parliamentary colleagues, Benn is despised and feared. The reason for these strong feelings is that friend and foe alike see Benn as the only hope for implementing the policies of fundamental change that the Labour Party has so long espoused in theory, but failed to deliver in practice.

Changing the rules.

If it were up to individual party members, Benn would have been elected leader years ago. But unfortunately the leader of the Labour Party is chosen by a secret ballot of Labour members of parliament, and they do not reflect opinion in the party as a whole.

For the last five years a battle has raged within the party to make the parliamentary leaders accountable to the rest of the

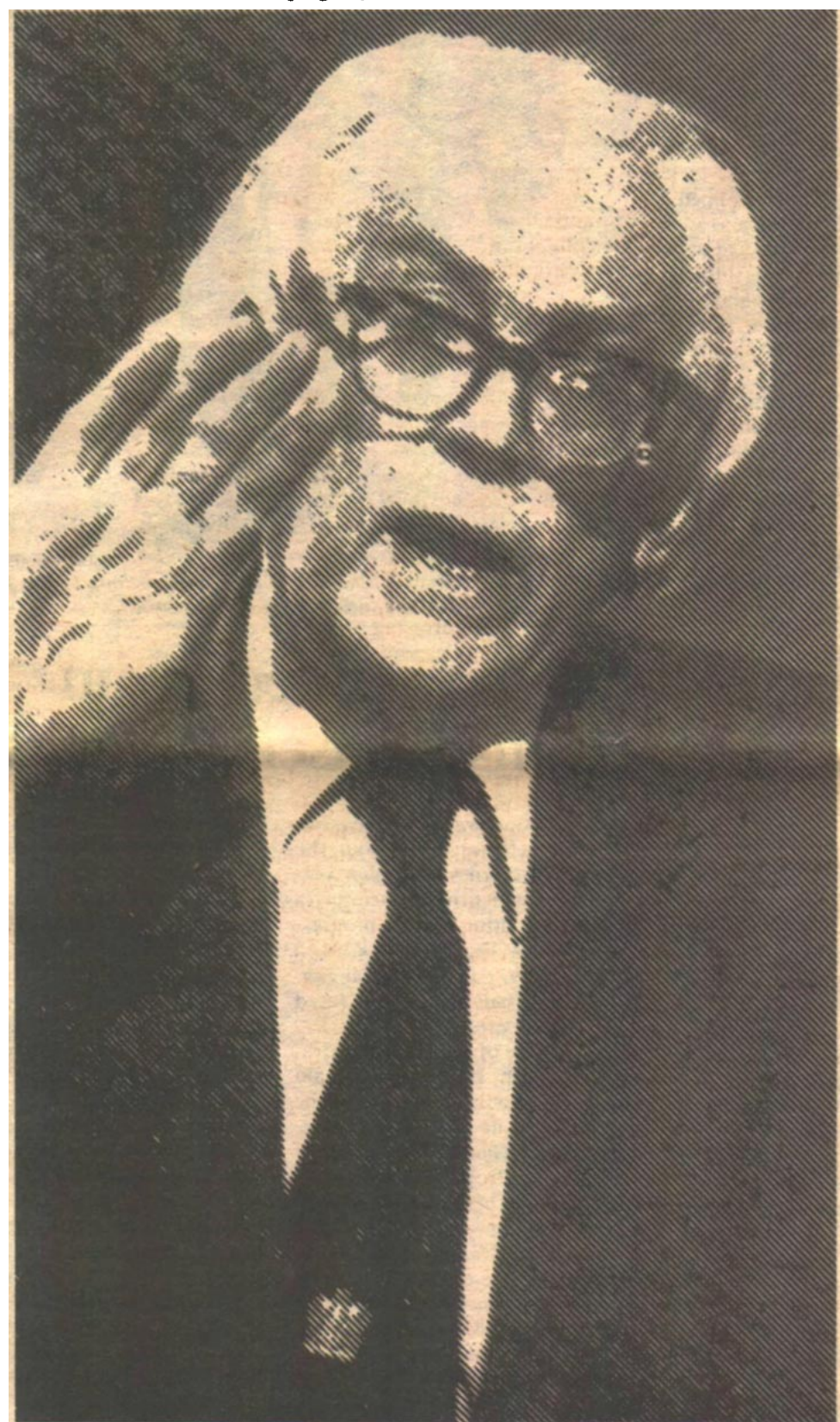
members. One of the three main demands of that campaign has been that the wider membership of the Labour Party—and not just MPs—should have a say in choosing the party leader.

Needless to say, this proposal was bitterly resisted by the MPs, who saw it as a threat to their traditionally dominant role in the party. Nevertheless, the Labour Party conference in October finally voted to widen the franchise. But

since no agreement could be reached on a precise formula for doing this, it was decided to postpone action until a special party conference to be held at the end of January.

For the first time, the specter of a Labour Party led by Tony Benn presented itself, and both the media and the Labour Party establishment began to panic. The out-going party leader, James Callaghan, was pressured to resign immed-

The new party leader, Michael Foot, has been a strong opponent of nuclear weapons since the ban-the-bomb campaign of the '50s.



Tony Benn, with no chance of election under the old rules, stepped aside.

fer himself as a stop-gap candidate until a new electoral procedure could be worked out. Foot declined that offer, and instead offered himself as a long-term candidate.

Under the circumstances, the left had no choice but to back Foot, albeit reluctantly, as the only hope of stopping Healey. Benn, who would not have stood a chance with only MPs voting, stood aside.

Pressures from below.

At first, no one seriously expected Michael Foot to win, but as the election campaign progressed, it became clear that the result was not a foregone conclusion. Many Labour MPs who originally intended to vote for Healey started to come under pressure in their constituencies from members urging them to support Foot. In the past, most MPs would not have taken any notice of such pressure, but under another new regulation passed at the October party conference, local Labour Parties now have the right to rescind the nominations of Labour MPs who no longer enjoy their confidence. The fear of losing their seats, combined with the fear that election of Healey would seriously damage party unity, persuaded a narrow majority of MPs to back Foot, who won by 139 votes to Healey's 129.

What kind of leader will Foot make? Much will depend on how much he feels the need to appease the right. It is rumored, for example, that in any Foot government Denis Healey would be Foreign Secretary and Peter Shore—who was also a candidate for the leadership—Chancellor of the Exchequer. Shore, like Healey, is firmly on the right of the party, and such appointments would come as major disappointments to most party members.

The main threat posed by Foot to the status quo comes in the area of defense policy. He is committed to abandoning a British defense policy based on nuclear weapons and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. Only recently, Foot said that if he became Prime Minister he would ask the Americans not to station Cruise and Pershing missiles on British soil. And he probably would cancel plans to spend five billion pounds on a new British nuclear weapons system, despite U.S. government concerns that such measures could seriously damage NATO.

Foot also is likely to want to implement Labour's recently revised stand on taking Britain out of the European Common Market. He has always opposed British membership and only recently spoke of the need to restore sovereignty to the British parliament by repealing part of the treaty of accession by which

Foot's radical reputation suffered during his tenure in the Callaghan regime. But the party's left backed him as the only hope to stop Healey.

ately so than an election for his successor could be held before any agreement was finalized on the wider franchise.

Callaghan gave in to the pressure, and resigned at the end of October, precipitating an election. Denis Healey, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer and a champion of the Labour Party right, announced at once that he would stand for the post.

Faced with an election they did not want—and that the party conference had decreed should not take place—the national executive of the Labour Party appealed in vain to the MPs not to go ahead. When the MPs insisted, Michael Foot was asked, as deputy leader, to of-

Britain joined the EEC.

But all of this is a long way off. Labour has first to win the next general election, which is at least two years away. By that time—given present government policies—the British economy will be in ruins, and a Labour Prime Minister, any prime minister, may find himself having to adopt radical measures whether he likes it or not.

By the next election Foot will be 70 years old. But it would be a mistake to write him off as a short-term appointment. As he has pointed out, the Victorian prime minister, William Gladstone, formed his first government at the age of 68, after which he was twice re-elected. ■

IN SHORT

Two-for-five ain't bad

Anti-nuclear activists peering through the post-election fallout could make out two substantial victories and three losses in state referendum battles. In the state of Washington, voters decided to prohibit the storage of nonmedical nuclear waste from out of state after July 1, 1981. The decision will idle the tractor-trailers that have been hauling radioactive debris to the Hanford Federal Reservation from nuclear plants around the country. While officials at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania are making plans to store their extra waste on the island itself, the nuclear power industry will almost certainly try to challenge the Washington initiative in court.

Just down the coast, Oregonians voted to bar the construction of nuclear plants until the federal government licenses a suitable dump for the permanent disposal of high-level waste. And any certificate the government issues for a nuclear plant site must now be approved in a statewide election before it can take effect.

The ratification of these two strong anti-nuclear ballot measures was offset somewhat by failures elsewhere. Montanans defeated a proposal that would have stopped radioactive waste disposal and curbed the mining and milling of uranium. In South Dakota, voters rejected a measure designed to restrict nuke construction, prohibit any waste-disposal site and make it hard to mine and mill uranium—but the vote was close. Pro-nuclear forces won another tight battle in Missouri (see the article on this page).

Opponents of nuclear energy are now "regrouping and figuring out what we're going to do with the results of the elections," according to Betsy Taylor of the Nuclear Information and Resource Service (NIRS). "But," she adds, "I don't think any of this should be referred to as a loss, because it scared the industry in a very big way. They put a lot of money into all those initiatives; in every state [anti-nuclear activists] reported that they were outspent as much as 500 to one. We won in two out of five—I think that's really great."

Anyone who wants to join in the current discussions of how to fight a likely radiation renaissance in the coming Reagan years—no more *Bedtime for Breeder*—is encouraged to call NIRS' toll-free number (between 1:00 and 5:00 p.m. EST): 800-424-2477.

Deadly neutrality

A nationwide network of Salvadorean solidarity groups began to take shape in the U.S. in mid-October with a series of meetings on the two coasts. Carol Edwards, a Richmond, Va., delegate to the East Coast Conference in Solidarity with El Salvador—which drew members of more than 100 religious and political organizations to American University in Washington, D.C.—reports further confirmation that an offensive is being waged by Salvadorean troops against peasants in the country's Morazan region (*In These Times*, Nov. 5). Despite American protestations of neutrality, she says, the fighting involves "North American mercenaries" and the combat use of U.S. helicopters—which were ostensibly supplied for "non-lethal" purposes such as crop dusting.

No deposit, no returns

The electoral failure of Michael Manley's ruling Peoples National Party in Jamaica gave a big spiritual boost to officials at the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Manley's popularity started to take a dive when he agreed to the IMF's stringent loan conditions in 1977, and by the time he finally turned down the Fund's spending-cut demands last year, many hard-pressed Jamaicans were ready for a new leader (*In These Times*, Nov. 12).

That the new leader, Edward Seaga, is a pal of free enterprise may have something to do with the IMF's reported eagerness to open up shop again in the restive Caribbean country. The *Washington Post* reports that the Fund is prepared not only to lend Jamaica as much as \$180 million a year for three years, but also to "take the lead in arranging and encouraging a larger package of assistance from other governments and private sources." State Department higher-ups "share the sense of urgency" that Seaga's government get off to a good start, and say that the U.S. "will be responsive" to supplementing aid from the IMF, the World Bank and other friendly lending institutions.

You can help

Send all off-beat and provocative news clippings to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. We also want to hear news from labor and community organizers, and to see publications from feminist, anti-nuclear and other left groups.

—Josh Kornbluth



Mayor Dianne Feinstein (second from right) and (l. to r.) supervisors Ella Hill Hutch, Nancy Walker and Carol Silver belong to the first major-city administration with a majority of women.

Bay area voters swim against conservative tide

While conservatives piled up electoral victories throughout the nation, Northern Californian voters once again proved themselves among the nation's most progressive. In San Francisco, Oakland and Berkeley, left and liberal candidates and ballot measures fared better than expected.

The failure of the right was dramatic in San Francisco. Ronald Reagan won only 32 percent of the votes cast in the city. Arch-conservative Paul Gann, co-sponsor of California's Proposition 13, fared even worse in his race for the Senate—18 percent—against moderate-liberal Alan Cranston. San Franciscans also re-elected their two liberal representatives, Phil and John Burton, by tallies of 69 and 51 percent. John Burton's victory was notable because he was the target of a heavily financed New Right campaign.

San Francisco also returned its four liberal state legislators by winning percentages ranging from 61 to 85 percent, and passed by a large margin (55 percent to 45 percent) a ballot measure designed to make the corporations pay their share of municipal taxes. A measure to re-establish district elections lost by less than one percentage point.

Six women and five men won spots on the city's board of supervisors. With Dianne Feinstein as mayor, San Francisco becomes the first major American city to have a majority of women as its top elected officials. And only 300 votes—out of more than 200,000 cast—prevented what would have been the board's first liberal-progressive majority. Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee member and gay leader Harry Britt came in fifth in the supervisors' race, giving him a four-year term, and leftist Nancy Walker won a two-year term with

her sixth-place finish.

Across the bay, Alameda County voters returned Ron Dellums to Congress and Tom Bates to the state assembly, while also re-electing two other liberal state legislators. Despite an intense red-baiting attack by his conservative opponent, Dellums won his fourth term in Congress by a 55 percent to 39 percent margin. Bates, who has continually pushed left causes in California's legislature, trounced his right-wing opponent, piling up more than 60 percent of the popular vote.

The results of the presidential race also reflect the area's refusal to be buried under the conservative landslide. Reagan lost badly in Alameda County, and got only 15 percent of the popular vote in Berkeley, narrowly escaping a third-place finish.

—Mike Berkowitz

D.C. voters back statehood

District of Columbia voters delivered a landslide victory Nov. 4 to an initiative that sets in motion the machinery to make their city the nation's first "city-state."

The initiative's passage marks a milestone in a 10-year effort to win "home rule" for the district, which is now under ultimate administrative control of the Congress. For a decade, the social-democratic D.C. Statehood Party has lobbied first the city council, then the citizens, for a vote on the statehood question.

The measure calls for a constitutional convention to draft new laws for the proposed state. Once they are approved by D.C. voters, the laws will go to Congress attached to

a statehood petition—the process by which most states entered the union. The government would carve out a "federal enclave"—including the U.S. Capitol, the White House and other federal properties—while the residential part of the city would become a self-governing state.

The statehood effort has been hampered by an establishment-backed constitutional amendment—now bogged down in state legislatures—that would provide congressional representation, but not statehood, for the city. Statehood partisans argue that the amendment would allow Congress to retain its control over the city's budget, judiciary and police.

The initiative ran up favorable three-to-one and four-to-one margins in black and working-class areas, but was clobbered in white, upper-income precincts, where many residents cherish their contacts on Capitol Hill.

While statehood advocates are jubilant over the voter endorsement, the Republican surge in Congress may slow the home-rule process. Like every measure enacted by the D.C. city council, the initiative must win congressional approval before it becomes law. But if all goes well on that level, the election of delegates to a constitutional convention could begin as soon as May 1981, and a new state constitution could be sent to Congress within two years.

—Brian Doherty

Missouri voters go pro-nuclear

Outspent by their opposition 35-to-1 and tied up in court for four crucial weeks this fall, the sponsors of a nuclear-waste disposal amendment to the Missouri state constitution suffered a bitter defeat in last week's general election, losing by about a 60 percent to 40 percent margin.

Their defeated amendment, Missouri's Proposition 11, was perhaps the most highly regulatory of this year's five statewide nuclear power initiatives. It would have banned the operation of any nuclear power plant in the state until the federal government approves a permanent site to handle its nuclear waste. The proposition also would have required the owner of a nuclear plant to cover the cost of phasing out the plant after the conclusion of its useful life.

No nuclear power plants are now operating in Missouri, but Union Electric Co. plans to open one in 1983. Union Electric and other corporations tied to the nuclear power industry spent a total of more than \$1.5 million (close to \$1 per voter) in their campaign against the proposed amendment. Advertisements warned citizens of Proposition 11's threats to the state economy and emphasized the possibility of future energy shortages and blackouts if it passed.

The electric company also filed suit in Cole County Circuit Court, where it won a ruling Sept. 16 from Judge Byron L. Kinder saying the proposition as worded by its sponsors would actually prohibit nuclear power in the state rather than regulate it. That ruling was unanimously overturned by the Missouri Supreme Court on Oct. 20, but the damage had been done: the amendment was out of the public eye for a whole month during the heart of the campaign, and doubts about its intent had been raised in an official forum.

—Bruce Allard

Chile liable for D.C. murders

By Peter Kornbluh

WASHINGTON

AFEDERAL DISTRICT COURT has for the first time named the Chilean military regime of Augusto Pinochet among those legally culpable for the September 1976 assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronni K. Moffitt. The court's decision—issued by Judge Joyce Hens Green on November 5—orders the Republic of Chile, four former DINA agents and two anti-Castro Cuban terrorists who were convicted for the car-bombing deaths, to pay the Letelier and Moffitt families damages totaling \$4.95 million.

The Chilean government has refused to comment on the case. Under the court award, Chile is liable for \$2.95 million in compensatory damages, while the other six defendants in the lawsuit, including convicted assassin Michael Vernon Townley and former DINA director Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, are liable for \$2 million in punitive damages.

The U.S. government has steadfastly refused formally to blame Chile's military junta for instigating the Washington murders. Yet this judgment, according to Michael Maggio, attorney for the Letelier estate, further establishes "that the government of Chile committed an act of political terrorism here in the United States."

Judge Green's decision culminated a complex civil suit filed by the Letelier and Moffitt families in 1978. Lawyers for the families presented evidence that the Pinochet regime itself authored the crime, and used a novel interpretation of the 1976 Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act—designed to provide civil redress against foreign governments and their

embassies in contract and insurance disputes—to argue that Chile should be assessed damages for "wrongful death."

Earlier this year Judge Green dismissed Chile's claim that it was immune from prosecution in the case. While entering a "judgment of default" against the Republic of Chile for its failure to appear in court, that ruling stated that the families had "produced satisfactory evidence to establish that Chilean officials who were acting within the scope of their office, committed tortious acts of assault and battery...and detonation of explosives that were the proximate cause of the deaths of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt."

Michael Tigar, chief counsel for the families, hailed the ruling in *Letelier et al. vs. Chile* as a landmark decision that "says to the DINAs of the world that this country will not be the playground of international terrorism." In the past, Tigar said, secret police agencies such as the KCIA and DINA have operated with impunity to persecute political exiles and refugees in the U.S.

Chile is not expected to pay its share of the damages voluntarily. Financial sources report that the Pinochet regime already has transferred substantial amounts of its U.S. assets to Canada.

According to Tigar, the Chilean government will be given 30 to 60 days to pay the \$2.95 million judgment. If it fails to do so, he warned, "we'll provide some pressure. We intend to leave the Chileans no place to hide."

The pressure could take a number of forms: diplomatic sanctions, a lien on Chilean bank accounts in Canada and Europe, or some sort of action aimed at the international lending institutions from which Chile has received loans.

But the most likely scenario is the seizure of a LAN Chile airliner. Attorney



Augusto Pinochet's junta must pay \$2.95 million in damages.

Tigar told reporters that since the facilities of the national airlines were used to aid the assassination plot, LAN's assets could be seized. A report released last July by the House Subcommittee on Government Activities and Transportation found strong evidence that "a variety of explosives and explosive devices...were transported via LAN Chile airliner in connection with the scheme to assassinate former Chilean ambassador to the United States, Orlando Letelier." (The

IN THESE TIMES NOV. 19-25, 1980 5
FAA and the Civil Aeronautics Board are presently conducting a full investigation of LAN Chile's possible role in the crime.)

If necessary, Tigar said, he would seek an order "authorizing and directing U.S. marshalls to take possession of a LAN Chile airliner on its landing at JFK airport." The Chilean government would then have the option of leaving the plane in the hands of U.S. authorities or posting a bond equal to the value of the jet. That bond theoretically could be attached by a court order to satisfy Chile's legal obligation to the Letelier and Moffitt families, Tigar said.

The election of Ronald Reagan could affect the future of the Letelier-Moffitt case. Some improvement of relations between the U.S. and the Pinochet dictatorship is likely, given the president-elect's de-emphasis of human rights and his over-emphasis on fighting communism. That shift may deflect State Department pressures on Chile to pay damages. It may also have some bearing on actions of the Justice Department, which is currently appealing a ruling that two months ago overturned the convictions of Guillermo Novo and Alvin Ross (the two Cubans who participated in the assassination) and will later decide whether to retry the Cubans.

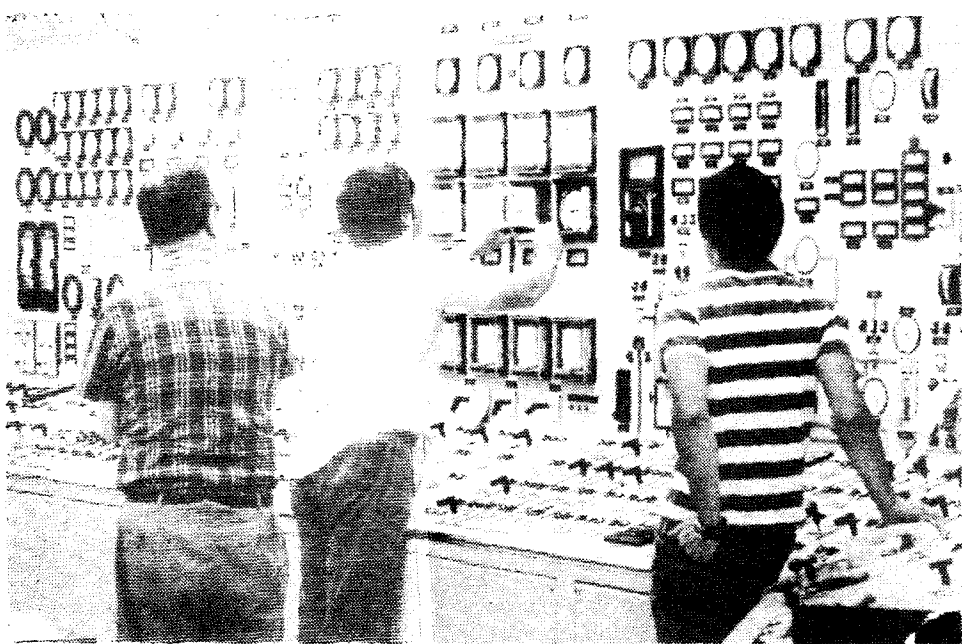
Reagan stated during the presidential debate that "there is no room worldwide for terrorism. There will be no negotiation with terrorists of any kind." The families and their attorneys will be calling on the new president to act on that conviction in the Letelier-Moffitt case. According to Michael Tigar, this is not a partisan issue. "This judgment is not controversial," he said, "murder is not controversial, terrorism is not controversial."

At least part of the money recovered from the defendants—the \$110,000 in attorneys fees and expenses—will be donated by the firm of Tigar, Buffone and Doyle to the Letelier-Moffitt Memorial Fund to further the Fund's work in exposing violations of human rights in Chile and elsewhere in Latin America. As Tigar put it, "I can think of no one in the world I would rather see contribute to that fund than Juan Manuel Contreras Sepulveda, the head of DINA who ordered these assassinations. We will even see that he gets a receipt."

Peter Kornbluh works for the Institute for Policy Studies.

NUCLEAR POWER

All the world is a laboratory for nuclear technology



Tests have yet to be devised for the damage that may have occurred at Indian Point.

By Susan Jaffe

NEW YORK

THE MID-OCTOBER ACCIDENT at Indian Point nuclear power plant near New York City was not the leak of 100,000 gallons of water onto the floor of the unit 2 reactor building. That's what Con Edison would like everyone to believe. The real accident was much worse than what Con Ed president Arthur Hausberg calls a "plumbing problem." The flood of 50-degree salt water from

the Hudson River eventually reached the reactor vessel, which was about 600 degrees and contains the highly radioactive uranium fuel. Nine feet of the vessel was submerged in the river water, causing the metal to contract unevenly and making it susceptible to salt corrosion—both can lead to cracking. Any cook knows that a hot dish from the oven can crack in cold water.

Theoretically, this can never happen to a reactor vessel. No one has ever speculated about the effects of a thermal shock to the outside of a reactor vessel. It's not one of the "occurrences" ana-

lyzed in the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's plethora of "safety analysis reports." There is no data on thermal shock, no diagnosis, no tests to check for weakening or brittleness of the reactor vessel.

If there is a crack in the reactor vessel, the vessel could begin to split, according to NRC commissioner Peter Bradford. "Then it could be very difficult, if not impossible," he continued, "to go on cooling the [uranium] core. The core would become uncovered.... The worst sequence is a meltdown in which the fuel becomes molten, falls into the water [the cooling water in the concrete reactor building] and then one becomes concerned about steam explosions or melting through the concrete."

In other words, a meltdown 24 miles from midtown Manhattan. But when Con Ed pumped the water out of the reactor building on Oct. 20 and temporarily fixed the "plumbing problem," what did the company do about checking the reactor vessel? Nothing—and then the operators started up the plant. Later that day, the manager of nuclear power generation returned from vacation and was filled in on what he'd missed. He ordered an immediate shutdown. Luckily, the reactor had not been brought all the way up to full power.

Con Ed, the NRC, and Westinghouse, manufacturer of the reactor, are all conducting separate in-house investigations—actually investigating themselves. The Senate Subcommittee on Nuclear Regu-

lation will review the investigations. Although they will all have to figure out how and why the leak happened (Con Ed has already admitted human error and faulty equipment), they will also have to determine if the reactor vessel is intact. Tests and criteria will have to be developed first and then somehow applied to the vessel to find out if it will crack when the reactor is on line and if salt corrosion will ever cause damage. "It's not just the short time the salt water was actually in there," says Robert Pollard, a former NRC licensing project manager and project manager for Indian Point unit 3 before he resigned in protest in 1976. He now heads the Union of Concerned Scientists. "It's also a question of what longer term corrosion problems you're going to have now that the vessel was submerged in salt water."

It will be difficult to simulate the "accident" because no one knows exactly when it began and how long it lasted. Asked if the reactor vessel could be replaced, one NRC official in the Office of Inspection and Enforcement laughed. Then he said seriously, "The vessel is not made to be replaced." If the reactor vessel is damaged, the Indian Point plant will be permanently out of operation. Con Ed would be out of the nuclear business, with a tremendous liability. What company would ever do that to itself? Con Ed operators are so eager to get the plant on line again that they didn't even want to hear assurances that the reactor

Continued on page 10

THE LAW

To besieged OSHA regulators, nothing is ever self-evident

By Robert Howard

WASHINGTON

SINCE 1855, WHEN A LONDON epidemic of cholera was traced to unsanitary drinking water, the link between proper sanitation and good health has been an axiom of medical common sense.

Yet more than a hundred years later, efforts to have the federal government set minimum sanitation standards for America's 3.3 million seasonal farmworkers have foundered in a morass of political controversy, bureaucratic delay, legal maneuvering and technical debates.

In 1972 the Washington-based Migrant Legal Action Program (MLAP) petitioned the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to issue guidelines for toilets, drinking water and washing facilities in the fields. Four years later, OSHA proposed preliminary field sanitation standards, but they remain in a regulatory limbo because the agency refuses to finalize them. And this past summer, the Department of Labor announced that it would take another four-and-a-half years of study and debate to determine whether the standards are necessary after all.

Jay Feldman, director of health programs at the public interest group Rural America, expresses the sense of frustration and outrage that the delays have inspired among farmworker advocates: "If they want to sit around and debate whether it is a health hazard not to have toilets, they can. But the issue is really one of integrity. After all, we call ourselves a developed country. The thing that is so surprising to me is the resistance on such a clear-cut issue."

But the eight-year saga of OSHA's field sanitation standards is not so surprising when placed in the context of what is happening to health and safety regulation in America today. Systematic corporate opposition to even the most self-evident worker protections—and repeated ideological attacks on the principle of government regulation itself—have undermined the health and safety regulatory process in ways that government officials, no matter how sympathetic, have been unable to counter. Regulatory procedures have been so encumbered by obsessive bureaucratic caution as to almost ensure their failure.

The obvious case for toilets.

One of the first acts of the new Occupational Safety and Health Administration was to recognize the importance of good sanitation to occupational health. In 1971, OSHA issued sanitation standards for all permanent workplaces. (Later, construction sites and temporary labor camps were added to the list.) But farmworkers were excluded from these general industry standards. And few agricultural employers provide toilets, washing facilities or even drinking water for their laborers. As a result, farmworkers suffer from an abnormally high rate of infectious diseases, kidney and bladder problems, heat stress and poisoning by toxic pesticides.

The absence of toilets means farmworkers defecate and urinate in the fields—sometimes in irrigation ditches, behind trees or in adjoining corn or sugarcane fields; sometimes out in the open among the very fruit and vegetables they pick. The feces attract flies, which play a major role in spreading parasitic diseases.

As was the case in London in 1855, unsanitary drinking water also contrib-

utes to the spread of diseases like typhoid, shigella and hookworm. And the absence of water altogether leads to dehydration and thermal injury to the liver, kidneys, heart and brain.

Some workers, especially women, choose to retain their wastes until they return home—sometimes as long as 10 or 12 hours. As a result, painful infections of the urinary tract and colon are common. Pregnant women suffering from bacteriuria run the additional risk of pregnancy complications, premature births and miscarriages because the drugs used to treat the infection can harm the human fetus.

Inadequate field sanitation also exacerbates the most severe health hazard faced by farmworkers: pesticide poisoning. Exposure to toxic pesticides can cause symptoms ranging from skin rashes and sores to headaches, eye irritation, nose bleeds, dizziness and vomiting. More serious is the invisible damage that pesticides can wreak on the human fetus and the reproductive systems of both sexes.

Handwashing facilities are an important defense against toxic chemicals—especially since some pesticides are more easily absorbed through the genitals than elsewhere on the skin. But farmworkers rarely have the opportunity to wash their hands before relieving themselves. Without basic sanitation facilities, they are denied the most practical means of fighting the effects of exposure after it occurs.

Taken alone, any of these hazards are serious. Together, they constitute an oc-

cupational health crisis among the worst facing American workers today.

- In 1973, typhoid broke out at a migrant farm labor camp in southern Dade County, Fla. The cause: contaminated drinking water and unsanitary conditions.

- A 1974 California study found that 78 percent of women and children visiting migrant health clinics suffered from parasitic disorders.

- According to a 1974 report by Inter-America Research Associates, 44.5 percent of the nation's farmworker households have one or more disabled members. And a study published by the Field Foundation last March states that farmworkers have the highest disability rate in the state of California—11.9 percent per 1,000 workers, twice the rate of any other occupational category.

- In California, the one state that mandates reporting of pesticide injuries, doctors reported 214 cases of exposure in 1979. But state health officials estimate that this represents only 1 percent of the total number of cases. The vast majority go either undiagnosed or unreported.

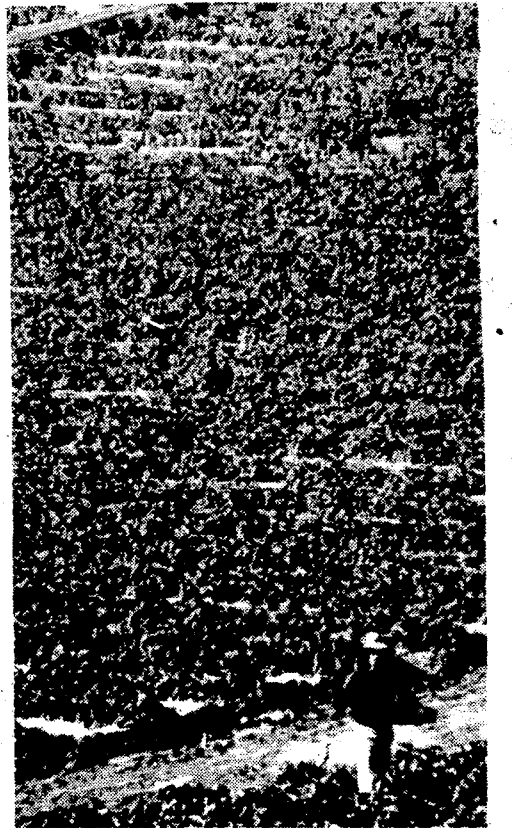
- In 1979, a test of 26 wells in Maricopa County, Ariz., revealed that irrigation water at several citrus farms was contaminated by DBCP, a toxic pesticide known to cause sterility in males and cancer in laboratory animals. For years, farmworkers had used the irrigation water to drink, to bathe, to cook and to wash dishes and clothes. No other water supply was available.

Inadequate sanitation for farmworkers transcends the boundaries of occupational health; it is a public health problem as well. New methods of picking, crating and boxing vegetables in the fields threaten to spread infectious disease to consumers. California became one of only six states to set its own field sanitation standards in 1970 after farmworker groups publicized photographs of workers defecating among rows of vegetables ready to be picked and shipped to market. But enforcement of the California law is notoriously poor. Field sanitation remains a nationwide health issue for farmworkers and the public alike.

Such conditions inspired the Migrant Legal Action Program's 1972 petition

Farm employees must often relieve themselves among the fruits and vegetables they harvest—posing a health risk for consumers as well as workers.

Photos by Nick Allen



followed up by a lawsuit filed one year later. In response, the wheels of the bureaucratic machinery began to turn. The Assistant Surgeon General and the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH—the research arm of OSHA) recommended that national field sanitation standards be adopted. OSHA's own Standard Advisory Committee on Agriculture, consisting of representatives from industry, labor and the public, held hearings on the issue and, in September 1974, recommended guidelines modeled on the 1970 California statute.

According to the committee, drinking water is "a necessity requiring no special justification." Toilets and washing facilities are "a reasonable requirement with a demonstrable hygienic basis," especially for "food crops that are harvested and packed in the fields ready for delivery to the consumer." Finally, in April 1976, in order to bring farmworkers "one step closer to the level of protection now being provided to the majority of this country's working men and women," OSHA published its proposed

field sanitation standards in the Federal Register.

The proposed standards were developed under the pressure of the MLAP lawsuit, but according to the normal OSHA procedures of the time. Yet by the time they appeared in the Federal Register in 1976, the political climate governing health and safety regulation had already begun to change. The agricultural industry had always resisted inclusion under the Occupational Safety and Health Act; the field sanitation standards became the target of a concerted counterattack by the agribusiness lobby and an early victim of growing corporate opposition to health and safety regulation in general.

Of the more than 1,100 public comments received by OSHA in the six months after publication of the proposed guidelines, all but about 60 came from farmers, grower associations, state farm bureaus and farm-state members of Congress. They argued that conditions in agriculture were not comparable to those in industry, that OSHA had failed to demonstrate the existence of health hazards in the fields, and that, therefore, the standards were unnecessary. The opinion common among growers was expressed by one farmer to a Florida newspaper:

"These proposed standards only give the worker an excuse to be goofing off on the job," he said. "At the present time, no one is permitted to use the sanitary facilities here during working hours as this cuts down on production and is a monumental waste of time."

Opponents fixated on the one major weakness of the guidelines in order to challenge the necessity of any standards whatsoever: some of the requirements, designed for the labor-intensive fruit and vegetable farms of California, were inappropriate when applied to the grain and livestock farms of the Midwest. In fact, a close reading of the public comments reveals that many family farmers objected exclusively to the broad application of the guidelines—not to the principle of field sanitation standards itself. But such distinctions were lost in the ensuing political melee. Under the guise of protecting the family farmer, the agribusiness lobby not only stopped the proposed regulation in its tracks but used it to challenge any OSHA jurisdiction in agriculture.

In the two years following publication of the standards, no less than 12 congressional hearings investigated the agency's activities in agriculture. "...The Occupational Safety and Health Administration makes a mistake to extend its already broad-based activities and regulations to another area," wrote Senator Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, reflecting the sentiments of many farm-state legislators. The Congress added language to an appropriations bill exempting farms with 10 workers or less from agency regulations. A bill was introduced to remove farm work-sites entirely from OSHA's jurisdiction. And to make matters worse, an ill-conceived and poorly written OSHA pamphlet warning farmers about the safety hazards of slippery cow and horse manure (quickly dubbed the "barnyard brochure" by agency opponents) became the classic example of regulatory overkill in editorial columns and the Congressional Record.

The counter-offensive was effective. By 1977, the field sanitation standards were dead. The Carter administration officials who came to OSHA that year have consistently refused to finalize them. So in recent years the fight over field sanitation has shifted from the Congress to the courts.

The courts as regulators.

First filed in 1973, the MLAP lawsuit has bounced between district court and the court of appeals like some commuter on the Eastern shuttle. After two round-trips over a period of six years, the higher court ruled last December that OSHA cannot be forced to finalize the 1976 standards, but that the agency must prepare a "reasonable timetable in good faith" for considering the field sanitation issue. In June, the Department of Labor published a "Secretary's Timetable for the Development of a Field Sanitation Standard" describing in ex-

cruciating detail a 12-step, 55-month procedure that OSHA must follow before any final decision can be made. It is this timetable that will be the focus of yet another hearing, the third, in the D.C. district court next month.

ing in excruciating detail a 12-step, 55-month procedure that OSHA must follow before any final decision can be made. It is this timetable that will be the focus of yet another hearing, the third, in the D.C. district court next month.

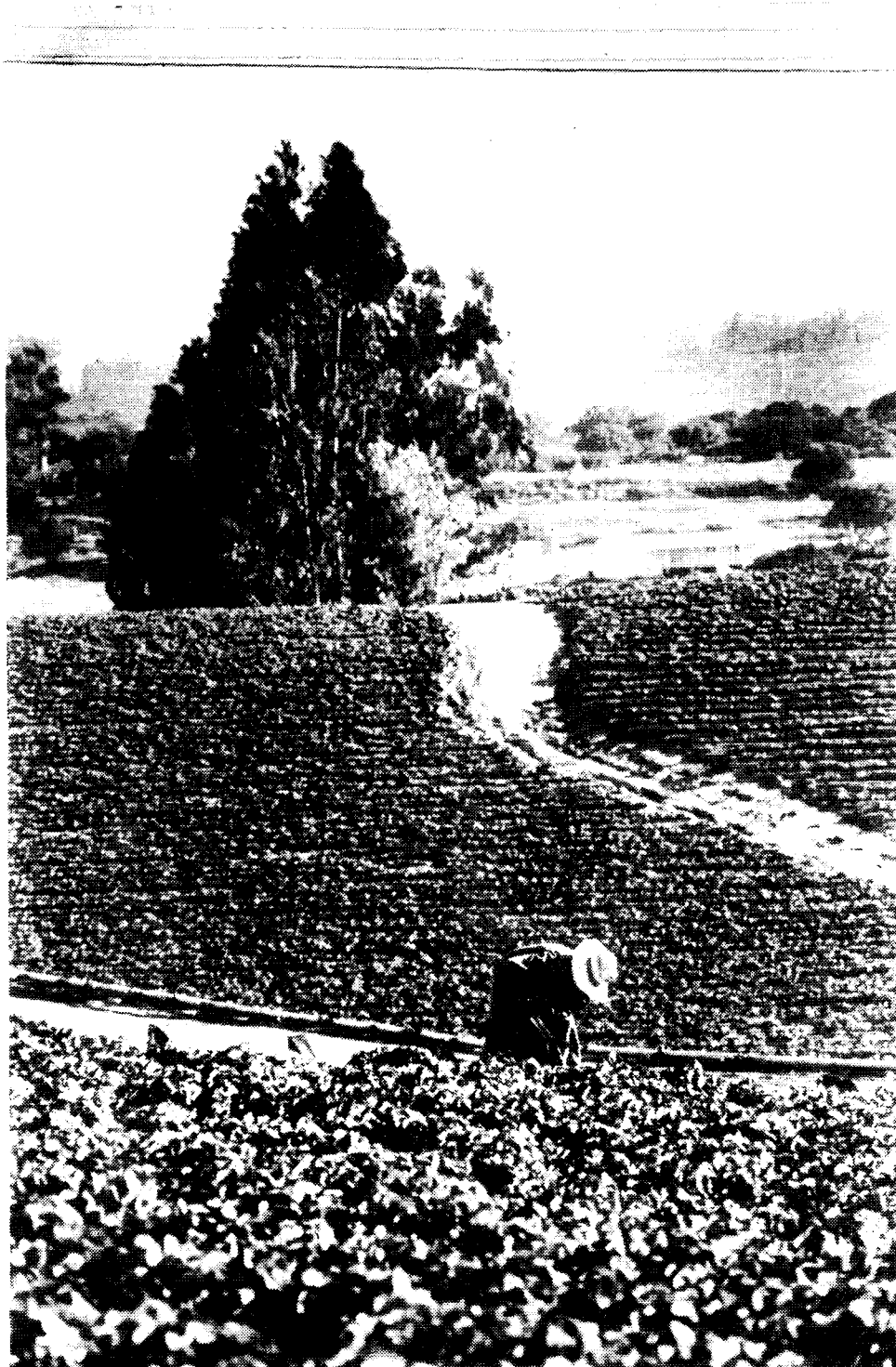
Government health and safety officials are not unsympathetic to the plight of farmworkers faced with inadequate field sanitation. "We would agree that it is a problem," says Dr. Jerry Purswell, science advisor to current OSHA director Dr. Eula Bingham. The problem, according to Purswell, is that the standards proposed in 1976 were formulated in "a different regulatory climate." In response to the widespread attack on government regulation in general and health and safety regulation in particular, OSHA has been forced to develop far more intricate and time-consuming administrative procedures. More important, a series of court decisions have made the legal criteria for justifying new regulations more strict. Thus, the field sanitation standards of 1976 are vulnerable to what the secretary's timetable calls "the increasingly demanding judicial review to which OSHA standards are subjected."

The example mentioned immediately by every government official is the Supreme Court's "benzene" decision issued in June.

OSHA had lowered its maximum exposure level for benzene, a substance known to cause leukemia at high levels of exposure, from 10 parts per million to one. Recent evidence, the agency argued, suggests that no exposure to carcinogens is safe. The court rejected the revised standard on the grounds that this general policy was not enough. OSHA failed to demonstrate that exposure to benzene at the original 10 parts per million level in fact caused cases of leukemia and that the new, more stringent level would substantially prevent this. Health and safety regulations, the court ruled, must be aimed at conditions of "significant risk." While neither "a mathematical strait-jacket" nor a duty to calculate "the exact probability of harm," significant risk requires that OSHA successfully establish the order of magnitude of health hazards as well as the appropriateness of the proposed standard to combat it.

According to OSHA officials, the "necessity requiring no special justification" and the "demonstrable hygienic basis" used to justify the 1976 standards do not establish significant risk. To do so requires epidemiological studies of specific farmworker populations measured against defined control groups, demonstrating statistically relevant correlations between inadequate sanitation in the field and the occurrence of specific diseases. Such studies, says Dr. Purswell, do not yet exist. "What I have a lot of now is anecdotal evidence, but that is not enough."

So, in effect, the standard-development process must begin all over again. And to compile the kind of record that will be impervious to the inevitable legal challenge takes time—thus, the 55-month timetable that includes elaborate scientific and medical studies by NIOSH and the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta; painstaking rounds of "concept papers," "action plans," hearings, comment periods and assessments of environmental and economic impact; and a final full-year review of the record to ascertain whether field sanitation standards are necessary or not. The new regulatory environment, says Jerry Purswell, "makes it all the more difficult to get things through. In order to do your job, you



need to evaluate all the options."

More than "bad faith."

The reaction of Migrant Legal Action lawyers to the secretary's timetable borders on the incredulous. While there may be no epidemiological studies of the health effects of poor sanitation that specifically involve farmworkers, the general principle has been firmly established by studies of other rural populations. To pursue further scientific research now, says a physician sympathetic to the program's lawsuit, "is almost like asking a scientist to prove the world is round." And even assuming some new studies are necessary, to begin the standards-development procedure from ground-zero is an unwarranted abuse of the regulatory process, which disguises OSHA's submission to intense political pressure. It is this abuse—a sign of OSHA's "bad faith"—that MLAP lawyers will try to prove in district court next month.

anted abuse of the regulatory process, one program lawyers say is the product of intense political pressure. It is this abuse—a sign of OSHA officials' "bad faith"—that they will try to prove in district court next month.

There is a common conviction among farmworker advocates that OSHA has delayed the field sanitation standards because farmworkers simply don't have the political clout to match the well-financed, well-connected agribusiness groups. Most farmworkers don't even belong to a union and, according to MLAP lawyer Charles Horwitz, "unrecognized workers are always going to be the last ones served by federal agencies—OSHA or whatever."

It is easy to sympathize with this perspective. To spend a grand total of nearly 13 years on a simple decision about toilets, drinking water and washing

facilities for farmworkers is certainly a scandalous failure of the policy-making process. But that failure has less to do with the personalities than with the structures of power; it is less the product of individual bad faith than the outcome of a complicated political struggle.

OSHA's timetable is merely a recognition of the political status quo. What has happened to the field sanitation standards is happening—to one degree or another—to all health and safety regulation. Massive corporate opposition pushes regulatory agencies like OSHA towards greater and greater bureaucratization. The automatic legal challenges that every new standard must weather clogs the decision-making process even further. Ultimately, this progressive hardening of the regulatory arteries leads to federal inertia and inaction—on the part of even the most well-meaning officials, in the face of even the most pressing needs.

"All these agencies are retreating in an effort to save the structure that has been created," says Rural America's Jay Feldman. "They are good people and sincere individuals who want to protect the public and workers, but who end up doing what they feel they have to do in order to defend the agency."

The Migrant Legal Action Program's lawsuit has kept the field sanitation issue alive. Whether it can break this bureaucratic impasse remains to be seen. Bad faith, program lawyers admit, is difficult to prove. At best the lower court may rule that OSHA must sharpen its timetable. But then the process of appeal will begin again, and the conflict over field sanitation, which has now traversed three presidential administrations, will soon enter its fourth. And this is one failure of government that the new administration is unlikely to remedy.



THE ENVIRONMENT

Uranium rush threatens New Jersey

By Ann Spanel

NEW YORK

THE HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL risks associated with uranium mining are so well established that even the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC)—not known for its alarmist positions on radiation exposure—has recommended that facilities for mining and milling uranium be confined to “remote areas.” Yet Exxon and Standard Oil of New Jersey (Sohio) have begun exploratory drilling for uranium in an area of northern New Jersey from which four cities and six towns—with a combined population of close to one million—now derive their water supplies.

The existing data on uranium deep mines—which discharge from 200 to 3,000 gallons of contaminated water a minute—comes from studies of mines in remote areas of the Southwest. Serious spills have occurred there. In Church Rock, N.M., last year, a dam broke on the storage pond for tailings (the solid

that is vented into the atmosphere to protect the miners’ lungs. According to the NRC’s own figures, the radon “daughters,” as the lethal isotopes are called, can be expected to produce some 600 in a million premature deaths from cancer among people living 1.5 miles downwind from a mining site. (Additional contamination can result from faulty storage of the tailings, which, indeed, have sometimes found their way into building materials from mines in the Southwest.) Hence the caution about “remote areas.”

There are no remote areas in New Jersey, which already has severe pollution and water-supply problems. (The state has the highest population density and the highest cancer rate in the U.S.) But there is a rich vein of high-grade uranium in a formation called the Reading Prong that runs through Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. The uranium in this deposit, first discovered by the Department of Energy in 1975, is thought to be anywhere from 10 to 60 times richer than any now mined in the U.S.

Three years ago, Exxon moved trucks

ford and Jefferson reacted to the oil companies by passing bans against mining in their communities.

In Orange County, N.Y., just across the border from West Milford, Chevron also had been conducting explorations along the Reading Prong. In September, the town of Warwick passed a 90-day moratorium on mining in that region, and is considering a total ban.

In response to the Jefferson ban, Sohio recently declared it was pulling out of the area. Calling the opposition “emotional, misleading and propagandistic,” Sohio president Hugh Evans said, “If the ban is legal, we’ll live by it. But we’re not going to give up just to give up.”

Exxon also announced that it would withdraw from West Milford if that town’s moratorium became law.

But Linda Sachs of the Morris County Safe Energy Alliance (SEA) points out that Sohio still has a 15-year lease in the area. “They’re biding their time,” she said, “and they’ll be back, if not in Jefferson, then in another community—unless statewide legislation against mining is passed.” A statement by Sohio regarding the ban seems to provide ominous confirmation of Sachs’ prediction: “We are only in the early stages. We can go elsewhere. We have alternatives available to us.”

Meanwhile, residents in Jefferson and West Milford have joined forces by forming a group called Stop Uranium Now (SUN). SUN’s members are not all opposed to nuclear power, and do not fit the image of a radical political group. Members include a supplier of nuclear plant cooling towers, a shareholder in General Public Utilities (sponsor of Three Mile Island), and several employees of oil companies. No one, it seems, wants a uranium mine in their back yard.

Another group, the Highlands Watershed Association, wants oil companies to publicly declare their intentions in the region to state and federal regulatory agencies, and has asked the companies to provide expert testimony at an upcoming forum on the health consequences of uranium mining.

Sohio declined to attend that forum.

Exxon, after initially refusing, agreed to send a representative.

Taking it to the state.

Since local bans can be overridden by the federal government, a state law similar to the one passed in Vermont, which in effect prohibits uranium mining, is needed to withstand the legal battles that are sure to follow. But the fight to get a statewide ban on the books in New Jersey is up against formidable odds.

The New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection (DEP), for one, has simply looked the other way on this issue. The director of the Bureau of Radiation Control claimed that he had not heard that any drilling was going on: “We got a bigger load than we can handle with the waste problem. The right hand doesn’t know what the left is doing around here. The [uranium] mining thing’s new to us in New Jersey.”

It is also widely believed that the head of the realty company that leased 1,000 acres in Jefferson to Sohio is influential in the state DEP.

When asked what the DEP was doing about the issue, an official in the Bureau of Radiation Control said, “If any drilling occurs, the DEP would observe federal regulations.”

But there are no federal or other regulations on exploratory drilling, despite its potential to contaminate drinking water with radioactivity. The federal EPA has issued standards only for the upper limit of radioactive contaminants in drinking water—four millirems of total body dose, or what you would receive from one cross-country flight.

Enforcement of these standards is difficult, and companies cite the levels of naturally occurring radioactivity in water that sometimes far exceed the EPA’s ideal.

It is also disquieting to learn that the present mayor of Jersey City is planning to run for governor. The city has just leased an enormous tract of land to Sohio, and if that company were finally permitted to open a full-scale mine and mill, it would have to pay the state an enormous fee for the license. According to Dr. Peter Montague, research scientist at Princeton University and co-director of the Southwest Information and Research Center (which has done the only independent research on uranium mine hazards) such money would in itself be sufficient inducement for the state to encourage mining operations.

The possibility of financial gain for the city of Newark also prompted Mayor Gibson, in a letter to the DEP, to take a neutral stand on the potential mining of 18,000 acres that the city owns in the West Milford area.

Public protest has already caused legislators to act. State Senator John Dorsey, after talking with members of SUN, proposed a statewide ban on uranium mining. That bill is now in committee.

A second bill sponsored by Rep. Christopher Jackmen, who is speaker of the state assembly, proposes an 18-month moratorium on mining in New Jersey while the DEP, in conjunction with the state departments of Energy, and Labor and Industry, study the situation. Jackmen’s bill passed the state assembly unanimously, and now will go to the senate. But opponents of uranium mining fear its provisions will fall short of a ban on mining.

That John Dorsey is a conservative Republican underlines the trans-ideological character of this grass-roots movement. But politics must be transcended in the interests of preventing an increase in the bone cancers, leukemia, Down’s syndrome cases, birth defects and lung cancers that have occurred around uranium mining operations in other parts of this country and that are also documented in Europe and Australia.

Ann Spanel is a New York writer.

Despite NRC cautions that uranium mining be confined to “remote areas,” exploration has begun in the nation’s most densely populated—and most polluted—region.

wastes that remain after uranium is milled) and spewed 100 million gallons of radioactive water into the Rio Puerco River. Cattle grazing along the river’s banks died soon after, but the effects of exposure on humans in the area may not show up for 20 years.

But uranium mining is hazardous—both for workers and for neighbors of the site—even without mishaps. Under normal operating conditions, the process produces carcinogenic radon gas

bearing the seemingly innocuous label of a subsidiary, Carter Oil Co., into a reservoir area near the small town of West Milford, N.J., and began exploratory drilling. Only this summer did it become known that Exxon was looking for uranium.

Meanwhile, Sohio negotiated with Jersey City to obtain mineral rights to 1,000 acres in the neighboring small community of Jefferson Township—which was not party to the negotiations. Outraged local residents in West Mil-



A typical uranium mine in the West has 30,000 people within a 25-mile radius—the New Jersey sites would have 2.5 million.

IN THE WORLD

PORTUGAL



The personality of founding father Mario Soares has so far been the substitute for a coherent policy in the PSP.

Socialists shunt aside Soares

By Diana Johnstone

PARTS

AFTER A SERIES OF DEVASTATING defeats and blunders, the Portuguese Socialist Party (PSP) seems about ready to get rid of its leader, Mario Soares, and let itself be guided instead by a policy—something it has done without up to now.

Since it was founded by a small group of exiled lawyers in 1973, the PSP has been run by Soares, despite its tremendous growth after the April 1974 military coup that restored democratic political life, and despite the wide variety of opinions and outlooks within the party. Even when Soares was prime minister, 1976-78, he never had a clear domestic or foreign policy, and tended to make policy from day to day, often with surprising turns that would send one wing or another flying out of the party.

Thus both the author of the original revolutionary agrarian reform law, Antonio Lopes Cardoso, and his successor as minister of agriculture under Soares, Antonio Barreto—who wrote the second agrarian reform law taking back some of the first—left the PSP at different moments to found small parties of their own, one to the left and the other to the right of the PSP. Economists in particular kept resigning from the PSP throughout the late '70s in protest against the absence of any clear economic policy.

After the Socialists' crushing defeat in the special December 1979 legislative elections, when the party's share of the vote dropped from about 35 percent to about 27 percent, it seemed to many that the time had come for a critical examination of leadership strategy and policy. But Soares diverted attention from such long-range reflections by busily building a new electoral alliance, the Republican and Socialist Front (FRS), with the parties of Lopes Cardoso and a group of 35 members of parliament who left the center-right Social Democratic and Popular Party (PPD-PSD) of prime minister Francisco Sa Carneiro. Soares confidently predicted that the FRS would win 35 percent, perhaps even 50 percent, of the

vote in the regular four-year legislative elections held last Oct. 5. In fact, the newly combined forces of the FRS did only as well, or as poorly, as the PSP alone in its December 1979 debacle, which meant that the Socialists did even worse than 10 months earlier.

Soares' campaign strategy was to show that the PRS, if it got a majority, could govern harmoniously with the president of the republic, General Ramalho Eanes, who is himself up for re-election on Dec. 7 and whose relations with prime minister Sa Carneiro have been strained, to say the least. Soares and Eanes appeared chatting cordially on television, just as if they had completely forgotten that Eanes abruptly tossed Soares out of the government two years ago. By obviously—and unsuccessfully—trying to exploit Eanes' presumed popularity to advance the Socialists, Soares imperiled Eanes' own chances of re-election.

This is apparently why Gen. Eanes, in a press conference Oct. 14, made a blundering attempt to mark his distance from the Socialists, and to try to look like a national consensus candidate. He said his principles, political conceptions and model of society were fairly similar, if not perhaps identical to those of the Democratic Alliance, the right-wing governing coalition led by Sa Carneiro. For the official candidate of the Socialist Party, this was a tactless statement. But many Socialists were ready to forgive him on the grounds that a military man is apt to say most anything.

Although Eanes seemed to recognize his mistake and be willing to make amends, Soares quite unexpectedly demanded that the PSP rescind its endorsement of Eanes' candidacy. In a stormy meeting on Oct. 19, the PSP National Committee voted 87 to 43 to support Gen. Eanes—the first time in the party's seven years of existence that Soares was put in the minority.

To dramatize the issue, Soares temporarily stepped aside as party secretary. If, as many think, he hoped the whole leadership would resign to enable him to tighten his control, the move failed. The suspicion was widespread that Soares was trying to repeat the gambit of Spanish Socialist Worker Party (PSOE) leader

Felipe Gonzales who resigned as party leader in order to gather his forces, count his enemies and come back stronger than ever a few months later. In another National Committee meeting a week later, Soares was beaten by an even wider margin of 101 to 43.

Thus a good two-thirds of PSP leadership is openly fed up with Soares, with his stratagems and ambiguity. The disgruntled range from conservatives to Marxists—which of course will pose problems if and when the party ever gets down to defining a clear platform. But most feel it is high time they made the attempt.

Even Sa Carneiro has twisted the knife by saying that Soares "made a mistake in basing his whole policy on anti-communism." Although the Communists were trying to get their people into the government apparatus, there was never any real possibility of a Communist coup in Portugal, according to the right coalition leader.

Socialists without policies.

Soares' anti-communism seems to have served two purposes. First, it functioned as a substitute for coherent policy. But the price has been to discredit the Socialists and prepare the right's comeback. Second, it impressed Soares' foreign backers, notably in the U.S. and West Germany. But aside from the fact that most Western countries have conservative governments that will prefer to back other horses in Portugal—especially now that the red scare is long past—the brother parties of the Socialist International have been expressing their alarm over the PSP's drift from defeat to defeat.

Thus, after the Oct. 5 elections, the French Socialist Party leadership got together to reflect on the PSP failure and sent a confidential report on its evaluation of the situation to Lisbon. The French party expressed its own interest in seeing the Portuguese Socialists engage in a serious reflection on the disintegration of their party.

Criticism and suggestions that the Portuguese Socialist Party get itself a strategy before it's too late have also come from the PSOE. Even the German Social Democrats, who virtually invented Soares, are worried over the PSP's decline.

After turning against Eanes, Soares seemed to hope Socialists would nominate himself as alternative candidate. But the only support for a Soares candidacy has come from a small Trotskyist party, the Socialist Revolutionary Party, led by a couple of members of parliament expelled from the PSP, which emerged with 1 percent of the vote in the Oct. 5 elections. Commentators say the PSP leader has cornered himself because now, if Eanes wins, Soares loses, and if Eanes loses, it will look like Soares' fault.

Many Socialists consider that the only way their party can grow up is to get rid of its founding father. "The misfortune for Portugal," one Socialist told me, "is that in all the excitement since 1974, Socialists never stopped to reflect on the sort of policies Portugal needs."

One of Soares' abrupt, inexplicable moves that confused and disoriented the PSP electorate was his 1977 government alliance with the Social Democratic Center (CDS) led by Freitas do Amaral, now junior partner in the right-wing Democratic Alliance. In contrast to the PSP, the CDS has had a consistent coherent policy—pro-American devotion to the Atlantic Alliance. From only 8 percent in the 1976 elections, the CDS has now come up to about 18 percent of the vote. Thanks to its pro-Americanism and the fact that it has the only clear defense policy in the country, the CDS now controls the two key ministries of defense and foreign affairs. It has introduced a defense bill, soon to come up for a vote, that will provide for full integration of Portuguese forces into NATO for the first time. (So long as Portugal was tied up in colonial wars, its NATO membership amounted to little more than U.S. use of Azores bases.) This will mean modernization and purchase of U.S. arms. This integration helps to wipe out the last traces of influence of the 1974 revolutionary Armed Forces Movement from the Portuguese armed forces, since it is taken for granted now that any commanding general or admiral must have a U.S. stamp of approval. A reputation as a Portuguese nationalist will block any officer's promotion.

The CDS also succeeded in getting its own candidate, General Soares Carneiro, accepted as presidential candidate by the entire Democratic Alliance. Carneiro is known as a brutally repressive colonial officer who never approved the anti-fascist revolution. Portuguese consider him the U.S. candidate even though the liberal American press doesn't like him.

The aim of the right is to revise the 1976 Constitution, and especially to get rid of its socialist bias in order to give full rein to free enterprise. But revision

Soares' policies changed from day to day, often sending one wing or another flying out of the party.

requires a two-thirds majority of the parliament, which is quite impossible. Thus the Democratic Alliance leaders want a president who will decree a special referendum to revise the Constitution. President Eanes has said he is against this idea. Thus the right turned to Carneiro as the tough guy who will do whatever is necessary to change the Constitution.

Even some Marxists think that the 1976 Constitution suffers from the rhetoric of the period and could stand being brought more in line with Portuguese reality. But the referendum seems quite the wrong method for revising a constitution, and the current parliament does not offer the prospect of many two-thirds majorities.

In fact, the principle comfort to the left these days is that the right is also divided. In particular, Sa Carneiro's party is made up of a number of differing currents. The leader of one important current, Helena Roseta, means to fight to preserve the democratic achievements of the Constitution and has said she will not vote for Soares Carneiro. ■

Nuke

Continued from page 5
vessel wouldn't crack on Oct. 20.

If nothing else, the investigations and the new tests will show one thing: Even after Three Mile Island, where another impossible accident occurred, the nuclear energy experiment continues outside the laboratory, jeopardizing public health and safety. Every accident is really just another new discovery. At Indian Point, scientists can now find out what it takes to crack—or not crack—a reactor vessel.

How do 100,000 gallons of water leak inside a nuclear power plant and reach the reactor vessel without anyone noticing?

• First, instrumentation in the control room indicates flooding inside the containment area, but operators decide two separate signals are malfunctioning. (The warning lights have been on since early October, but no one investigates or

fixes them.) Besides, if there were a leak somewhere, the water would be pumped into a collection tank. The level of the tank is checked and is normal. There's no monitor on the pumps and no way of telling they're working unless someone goes down there to see. (Video cameras might do as well, but none have been installed.) Everyone assumes that if there were a leak, the pumps would be on. So there must be no leak. But the pumps are broken. Both of them—the automatic one, too.

• Instrumentation also shows no rise in humidity in the containment area despite the water covering the floor and a steam leak from the steam generator. This is because the automatic dehumidifiers work continuously; no one notices.

• While investigating a malfunctioning power measurement, operators accidentally cause a "trip," and the reactor automatically shuts down. It's man versus machine. They start up the reactor. The reactor trips off again. On Oct. 17, they decide to send some workers into the containment area, who find themselves wading in water up to their ankles.

No one has been in the area since Oct. 3. Water has been leaking for several days, possibly two weeks, from the cooling system and the steam generator.

• Westchester County Executive Alfred DelBello is not immediately notified about the accident. But neither is the NRC, which regulates the Con Ed operation. The NRC full-time "resident" inspector starts his weekend early on Oct. 17, and leaves his answering machine to handle any emergencies.

It did happen here.

The parallels to Three Mile Island are eerie: human error and equipment failure produce an accident that's not supposed to happen. The utility does not report it promptly to the NRC, local government or the media. When Con Ed finally did so, it only reported half the accident, and that much came reluctantly. "Media interest is expected," stated the NRC memo dated Oct. 21. "The state of New York has been informed. The advisability of a press release is being considered by the licensee and the NRC." The seriousness of the leak—a potential

meltdown—was never conveyed.

Despite the story's biased source, the major media reported Con Ed's version of the "plumbing problem" almost verbatim, without checking out what the story meant. The *New York Times* printed an editorial last week regurgitating the Con Ed line. "Con Edison failed to report the problem for days, but insists, along with the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, that the public was never in danger. That's probably right; this was not the start of another Three Mile Island." The *Times* doesn't even wait for an investigation of the accident; like Con Ed, it is eager to reassure us.

To fill the information vacuum, the New York Public Interest Research Group, a Nader/consumer activist organization, has set up a virtual news service, supplying background on Indian point and referring reporters to metal experts, nuclear engineers and economists who are not employed by Con Ed. No one can answer questions yet about the condition of the reactor; that's why Con Ed would prefer the public didn't ask.

The NRC has closed Indian Point unit 2 indefinitely and ordered Con Ed operators, who sometimes can be overzealous, not to restart the reactor so that the vessel can be tested and all the investigations can proceed.

The utility responded with a 5 percent "fuel adjustment" surcharge on its bills to pay for replacement power while Indian Point is closed. Rate hikes are usually the domain of the Public Service Commission. The PSC will review the NRC investigation to determine whether Con Ed's mismanagement caused the accident. A finding of mismanagement would force Con Ed to refund the surcharge. Two antinuclear groups in New York, Mobilization for Survival and the Westchester Peoples' Action Coalition, are considering a boycott of the surcharge.

Con Ed's rates are already among the highest in the country. If the surcharge is not refunded, New Yorkers will be paying for Con Ed's incompetence and a nuclear reactor that is still, after seven years, in the experimental stage. No less than 133 generic problems, cited by the NRC, exist at the plant. There are cracks, caused by salt corrosion, in the steam generator. And this is all compounded by Indian Point's location—on an active earthquake fault, near New York's water supply, in the most densely populated region in the U.S. There are no plans, in the event of a serious accident, for evacuating the 21 million people living within 60 miles of the plant.

Anything can go wrong at Indian Point and even the smallest accident can lead to the most catastrophic. "I basically feel," says Robert Pollard, ex-project manager of Indian Point unit 3, "that until the public or its elected representatives are willing to do something about it, NRC and Con Ed are going to let that plant run no matter how dangerous it is. The only way out of the stalemate that I can see is an accident that does kill a few members of the public. And that, I'm afraid, is what we have to look forward to." No one will know how or why it happens—a valve doesn't work, a pump fails—and everything seems to go wrong at once. Nothing, especially not nuclear power, is perfect. ■

Susan Jaffe writes for the *Village Voice*, where a longer version of this article first appeared.

This year, give each of your friends 42 presents.

If you give *In These Times* this Christmas, you'll be giving friends 42 issues filled with the insights and analyses of some of the best writers around: Studs Terkel, Diana Johnstone, David Moberg, John Judis and Pat Aufderheide, to name just a few. And they'll read about such all-American newsmakers as Ron Dellums, Barry Commoner, Ruth Messinger, Daniel Ellsberg and William Winpisinger.

For just \$19.50 (that's less than 50¢ a present) you can give a year's supply of *In These Times* to those you love...42 big issues, packed with the kind of activist journalism you won't find anywhere else.

And if you give 2 gift subscriptions, the second one costs you only \$18.50, and the ones after that cost only \$17.50.

Perhaps you only want to give 21 gifts this year. We have special savings on six-month subscriptions, too: \$9.95 for the first, \$8.95 for the second, and \$7.95 for each additional subscription.

It's easy too. Simply fill in the coupon below and send it back to us. No trips to crowded stores...no agonizing over what to get. We'll even send the gift card to your friends. And we'll bill you later.

Don't wait for the holiday postal mess...order your 42 gifts now.



42

P R E S E N T S

Design: Ann Tyler/Photography: Paul Comstock

Your Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ My payment is enclosed.

☐ Bill me after January 1st.

Charge my: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Account Number _____

Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

1

Save on the first gift

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ \$19.50 for 1 year

☐ \$9.95 for 6 months

Sign gift card

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ \$18.50 for 1 year

☐ \$8.95 for 6 months

Sign gift card

3

Save still more on the third gift (and each additional gift)

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ \$17.50 for 1 year

☐ \$7.95 for 6 months

Sign gift card

Send to:

In These Times
Institute for Policy Studies
1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, Illinois 60622

HST2

**New York City
Now Has An INDEPENDENT
Left Bookstore
REDLETTER BOOKS**

666 Amsterdam Avenue
New York, New York 10025
Major works of All Marxist and other
left schools - Third World Studies -
Labor History - Radical Psychology,
Law, Education, etc. - Socialist
Feminism - Left Anarchist and
Situationalist literature - Hard-to-
find and out-of-print Books
212-580-3373
Call for hours

Subscriptions will not arrive until after Jan. 1, 1981.

EASTERN EUROPE

The idea of democracy is contagious



The Roots Of Reform In Poland: Part II

By Adam Przeworski

This is the second part of a two-part article on Poland.

THE SCOPE OF THE GDANSK agreement on unionization remains unclear. The document seems to have general validity, but at one point it specifies explicitly that the new union is to be formed at the coast, which would limit such activity to Gdansk, Gdynia, Elblag and Szczecin. This ambiguity has led workers in other parts of the country to strike for the extension of the agreement. The Silesian strike, which began on Aug. 28 was quickly settled. The Gdansk agreement was extended and a list of the specific demands of miners added. The same scenario was repeated all over the country, leading various party officials, Jagielski among them, to declare that the agreement holds for the entire country. But in practice, efforts to unionize have met resistance on the part of managers and have been successful only where workers struck. In Warsaw, one of the newspapers published a report that workers in one of the enterprises do not want to join the new union. The enterprise immediately went on strike and the union was formed.

At the same time, various professional associations have met and declared themselves to be independent and self-governing. The Polish Sociological Association was among the first, along with those of architects, writers, artists, doctors and teachers. Several professional groups formed an umbrella organization; some joined the Gdansk union. University students on vacation last summer began to meet and announced the formation of an independent and self-governing student organization. As if to anticipate the inevitable, the government announced that it would introduce a law on academic self-government, giving full autonomy, including the right to elect all officers, to the institutions of higher learning. A movement to immediately elect the new rector of the University of Warsaw was launched in the university senate.

In the beginning of September, some official unions which were members of the Trade Union Confederation announced that they would leave the Confederation. Some stated their intention to become independent and self-governing and sought to register under the new legislation. The Socialist Union of Students, one of the youth arms of the party, met to emphasize the need for its own autonomy and welcomed the creation of independent student organizations. The resolution called for far-reaching political changes, including free elections.

At the same time, a movement for reforms has erupted within the Communist Party. Various groups within the party called for internal democracy, for an end to corruption and bureaucracy, for free and secret elections to all party posts, for full information about party activities and for an increased ideological orientation of the party. Several news-

paper editorials argued that party democracy is a necessary condition for any reforms within the society.

The media has suddenly become pluralistic. Public discussions erupted in newspapers, which began to publish editorial articles explicitly stating their positions with regard to the developing reform movement. Economists were interviewed about the details of the economic crisis and the paths to reform. Television itself became pluralistic. It seems as if each program independently chose its direction. One day, for example, the news begins with a long story in which the First Secretary of the Party and the President of Poland award medals to outstanding peasants for their achievements, a routine ceremony of the past 30 years. The news program is followed by an hour-long film showing how a factory hastily fabricates its "achievements" in anticipation of an "unexpected" visit by an official. Several films made between 1976 and 1980 and relegated "to the drawer" were shown at the Gdansk film festival and reviewed by the press.

The Church bared itself as an openly political force. Capitalizing on the moderating influence it played during the strikes, the Church is seeking to increase the parliamentary representation of Catholic deputies, reintroduce religious instruction in schools, insert moral clauses into the new law on censorship, and commit the state to the morally oppressive policies the Church has always advocated. At the same time, the Church continues to try to ingratiate itself with the new unions, denying that the Cardinal betrayed workers in his speech of Aug. 24 (of which six minutes, critical of the government, were in fact cut by the media) and surrounding Walesa with advisers close to the Church hierarchy.

On Sept. 5, the *Sejm* (parliament) met in Warsaw to approve the government

changes that had occurred 10 days earlier. The debate was highly critical of past government policies. That evening the changes reached the top and the Central Committee replaced Gierek with Stanislaw Kania as First Secretary. Other changes of top leadership followed. In his first speech, Kania promised to adhere to the Gdansk agreements, suggested wide-reaching reforms and emphasized the need for democracy, which, he said, "is not a gesture of the state for the people but the need of a socialist society."

Nevertheless, the situation remains unclear and contradictory. Managers of enterprises have been dragging their feet in recognizing new unions. Party press and the television news continue giving conflicting signals about the party leaders' intentions. New appointments within the party apparatus are interpreted by many people as indicating the ascendancy of hard liners, the generation of 1968. The press and television continue restricted coverage of the new unions and have begun a campaign against "anti-socialist elements" that lumps together left-wing,

the security of the state—an accusation that would have been consistent with the spirit of the Gdansk agreements.)

Although Kania and others are attempting to calm the situation, their messages appear ambiguous. After 30 years of double-talk nothing is taken at face value. Factory managers who want to follow the policy of the party are not certain what it is.

The new unions are still amorphous. At the beginning it was not clear whether unions other than Solidarity would be allowed to register, so various groups from all over the country have joined it. Other union federations have now appeared, most importantly in Warsaw and Silesia, and have decided not to confederate but to remain in communication with each other. The result is chaotic. Internal conflicts have begun to emerge. There are rumors that within the Lenin Shipyard workers dissatisfied with Walesa's compromise on economic issues have already organized strikes against the new unions. As if to reassert their existence and to reassure the membership,

Although the situation is not entirely clear, the movement for liberalization is spreading and the government is giving ground.

nationalistic and right-wing opposition groups. The leader of an openly anti-Soviet group has been arrested and charged with insulting the authority of the state—an accusation reminiscent of worse days—for an interview given to *Der Spiegel*. (The interview was inflammatory but he could have been charged with threatening

the new unions organized a highly disciplined one-hour strike on Oct. 10.

Since the situation is in flux, any account of events risks being out of date by the time it is read. The Central Committee met again on Oct. 11 and announced the convocation of an extraordinary Congress of the Party, most likely in January. This guarantees that the movement for reforms will not be arrested and that it will now overwhelm the party. At least until that Congress the situation will remain volatile, and the limits of the possible will be tested repeatedly.

A new wave is also sweeping previously existing organizations. Since the '40s, Poland has had innumerable organizations, covering all areas of social life. Two political parties have existed in addition to the PZP: the United Peasant Party (ZSL) and a Democratic Party (SD). Youth organizations, women organizations, professional associations, cooperatives, sports clubs, cultural groups, hobby circles and religious groups have all functioned in their areas of activity. In the past they were confederated and subjugated to party control on a national level. Now they are breaking from the mold and declaring themselves independent and self-governing, clearing their houses by announcing free and secret elections. One should not be surprised if in a few days the Polish Philatelist Association or the Bird Watchers Union declare themselves to be independent and self-governing.

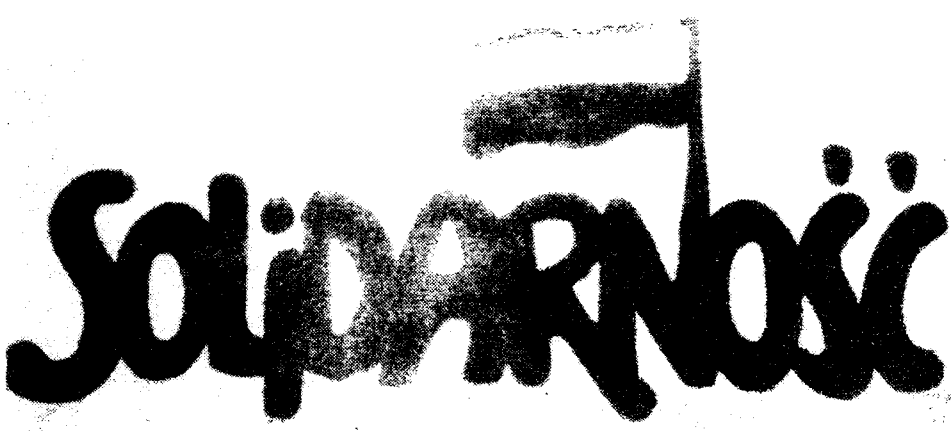
Once this period is concluded, some institutionalized *modus vivendi* will have to develop. Poland has functioned since 1946 under a system in which the patterns of actual interaction among state institutions had little, if any, relation to constitutional principles. The role of the party was not reflected in law. But as long as the party had a monopoly on power within the state it could expect stability. Now, however, neither the established practices nor the legal principles will suffice to provide a framework within which the newly independent organizations, the Church and the Party can resolve conflicts. The process must enter an institutionalizing phase soon.

Prospects.

The agreement signed in Gdansk has already been dubbed a new "social contract." *Continued on page 22*



Lech Walesa, leader of the Gdansk workers, addressing a rally at the Lenin shipyard.



ISWE BANSI IS DEAD IS not the sort of fare one has come to expect of a company that specializes in handsome Shakespearian productions and respectful stagings of modern classics. The poor blacks of New Brighton—it is their story *Sizwe Bansi* tells—would no doubt have difficulty imagining the surroundings in which the South African play is being produced.

But, *mirabile dictu*, *Sizwe Bansi Is Dead* has been packing them in. Audiences at the Black Swan Theatre have

They evolved the characters of Styles, a cheerful, hustling entrepreneur who has set up a photography studio to escape working for the “baas” at the factory, and Sizwe Bansi, a simple-hearted man who has come from one of the tribal “homelands” to try to find work in Port Elizabeth.

Sizwe is having a “card” taken to send to his wife; as Styles coaxes his nervous subject into an absurdly jaunty pose, Sizwe begins to vocalize the letter he will send to his wife along with the photograph, and we learn the story of his adventures in coping with the oppressive

During the same period, Fugard, Kani and Ntshona developed a second piece, *The Island*, which focuses on two prisoners at South Africa’s notorious detention camp, Robben Island. The starting point for the improvisations on which *The Island* was based was a series of notes Fugard had taken on news stories about the prison. *The Island* is a far harsher play, verging at times on suffocating horror, although it too has its moments of fierce humor. It also includes a striking autobiographical note—the prisoners are preparing a version of *Antigone* for a prison talent show, and *Antigone* had been one

South Africa comes to the Shakespeare Festival

built up steadily, so that the show played to near-capacity audiences until the close of its run Oct. 31. Audiences have been enthusiastic, and something more—not just standing at the end of performances, but seeking out Avery and fellow actor John Huston and trying to articulate the most personal kinds of reactions. The Shakespeare Festival, which felt it was taking a grave chance in producing *Sizwe*, is now planning to present an even harsher look at South African society—by the same trio of South Africans who created *Sizwe*—next year.

Athol Fugard is a South African white director and playwright who works closely with black actors and writes plays that are vehemently critical of apartheid. He is nevertheless known first and foremost as a theatrical innovator rather than as a political activist who writes plays.

A decade ago, Fugard had already established his reputation internationally as South Africa’s leading playwright (his *Boesman and Lena* won an Obie in 1971). As so often happens, however, he found his personal triumphs hollow, even as he achieved them. In Fugard’s case, he had already become profoundly dissatisfied with “written” plays, and begun to long for a more intrinsically creative relationship with actors.

Experiments with improvisation in the traditional sense were still unsatisfactory, seeming “two-dimensional,” he

later wrote in an essay on his theatrical practice. Under the influence of radical theorist Jerzy Grotowski, he began to grope his way toward what he terms a “challenge and response” method of collaboration with actors. The “playwright” suggests key images, and then helps actors shape the most useful of their responses to these images into controlled theatrical moments. A large part of the playwright’s role in Fugard’s method is to serve as a “releasing mechanism” for the actor’s creativity. However, the writer’s role isn’t jettisoned entirely, because it is still his images that trigger the process.

Fugard had been carrying around with him for some time the image of an odd studio photograph he had seen: a man posed with a pipe in one hand and a cigarette in the other. He brought the image with him when he began working improvisationally with the Serpent Players.

The Serpent Players, which Fugard had helped to get started in 1962, were the first black theatrical company in South Africa. “Actor” isn’t a recognized employment category for blacks under the apartheid laws, so the performers had to hold full-time jobs while pursuing their vocation in the evening. The company had also been consistently harassed by the government, and its members threatened with imprisonment. Nevertheless, the Serpent Players had held together for a decade, and had established a strong reputation.

Fugard began working with two of the company’s actors, John Kani and Winston Ntshona, using his image of the posed photograph as a starting point.

“passbook” system through which South African blacks are kept rigidly in place.

True to its origins, *Sizwe Bansi Is Dead* isn’t a “message” play, in the sense that it makes an abstract political statement, nor is it relentlessly grim. These characters are full of the survivors’ sense of humor. They become so painfully real to us that audiences, identifying with them, experience apartheid vicariously. (The third character, along with Styles and Sizwe, is Buntu, a generous town resident—“If he were white, they’d call him a liberal,” says Styles sardonically—who helps Sizwe. The character is played by the same actor who takes the role of Styles—John Kani in the original, John Huston in the Oregon Shakespearean Festival production.)

of the Serpent Players’ best-known productions.

After performing the two plays in South Africa, Fugard and the two actors took them on a world tour. To leave the country, Kani and Ntshona had to declare themselves to be Fugard’s “personal servants.” The plays were wildly successful in Paris, London and finally in New York, where Kani and Ntshona were jointly awarded a Tony in 1974.

Prior to the trio’s return to South Africa, Fugard’s passport was withdrawn, leaving him exiled in effect. He remained in London, and has divided his time between England and America since (although, according to the South African government his passport has been restored and he is free to return to his own

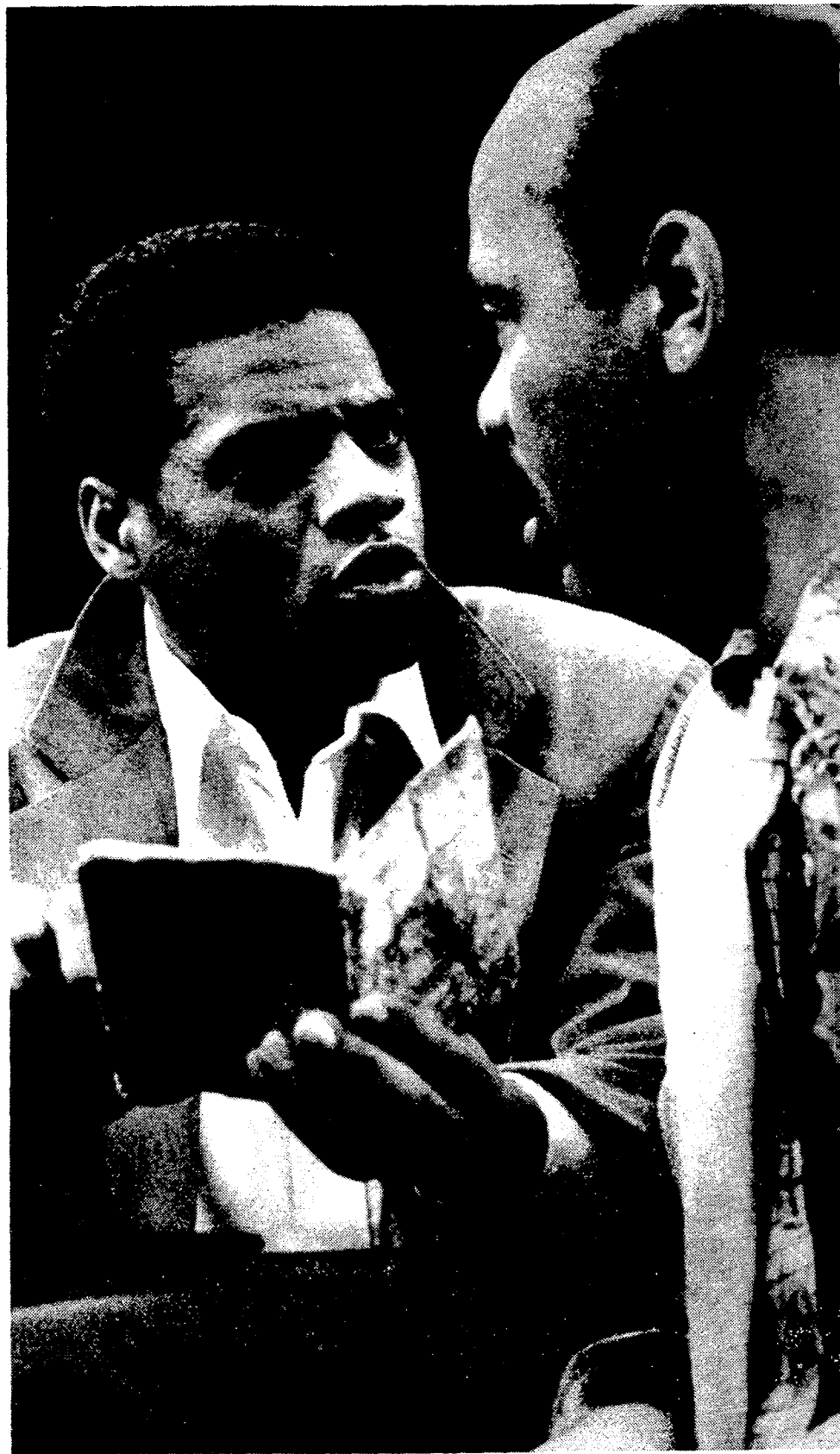
“What’s happening in this world, good people? Who cares for who in this world? Who wants who?”

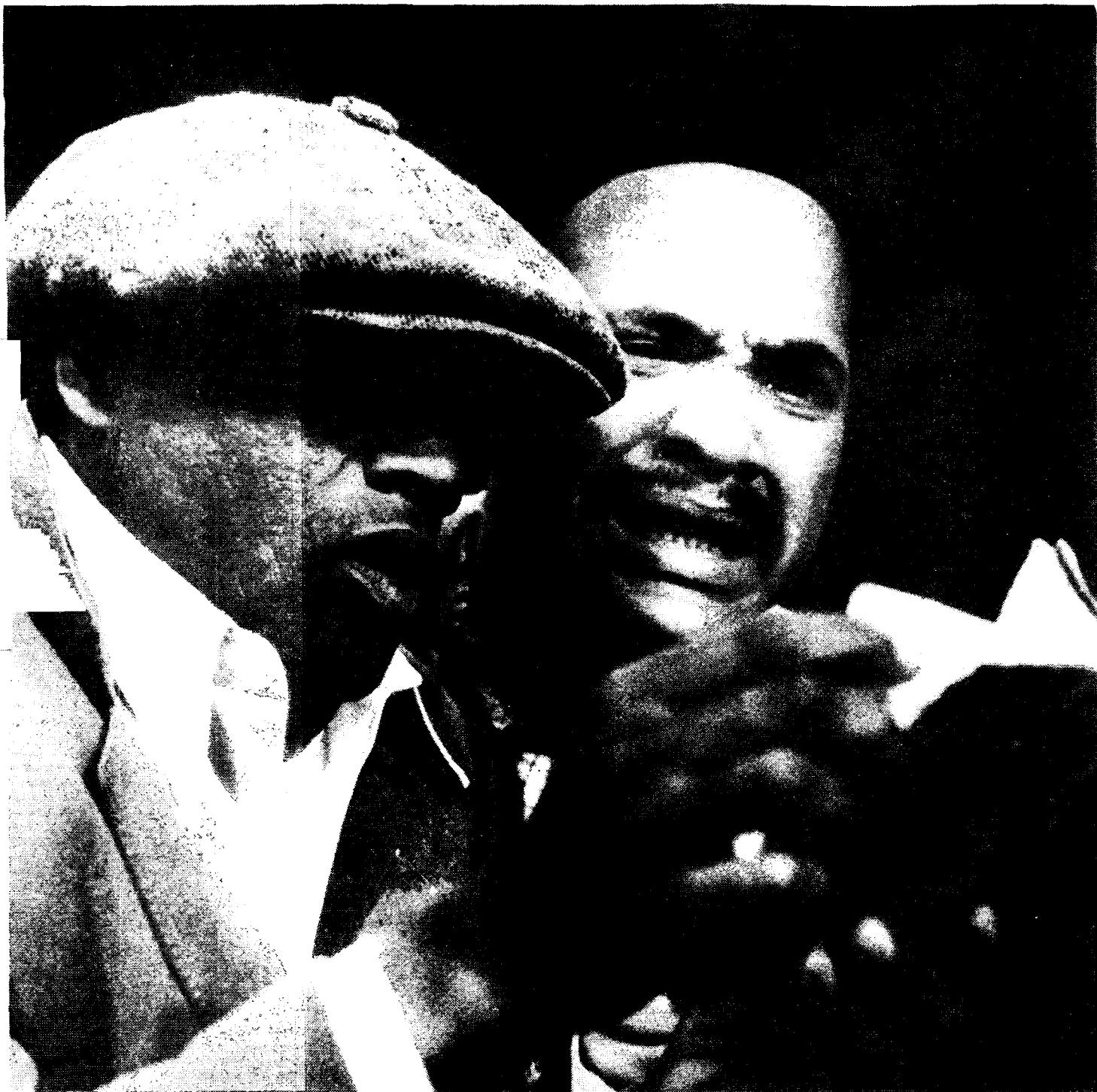
The speaker is a hulking black man, his face a mask of strain and anguish as he reaches desperately for some sign of understanding from his hearers. Sweating, disheveled, obviously frightened to his very soul, he blurts an elemental plea for recognition of his humanity.

“Look at me!” he demands. “I’m a man. I’ve got legs. I can run with a wheelbarrow full of cement! I’m strong. I’m a man. Look! I’ve got a wife. I’ve got four children.

“How many has he made, lady?” he demands suddenly, pointing at a man a few feet away while staring at the woman next to him. “Is he a man? What has he got that I haven’t?” The man he points at, by now shifting uncomfortably in his seat, is almost inevitably a prosperous-looking white man. Indeed, virtually all of the black man’s hundreds of hearers are white and comfortably off if not affluent.

The scene took place dozens of times this year on a stage at the Oregon Shakespearean Festival. The agonized black man was actor James Avery, in the guise of Sizwe Bansi, a South African native caught miserably in a system designed to rob him of that humanity he struggles so massively to retain. And it is in the very nature of things that the people to whom Avery/Sizwe addressed his assertion of brotherhood are the beneficiaries of the American system—cultured tourists who can afford to travel from San Francisco or Portland to take a theater holiday in a resort town.





Huston as the "liberal" Buntu (left) tries to help Sizwe (right) with his documents.

country if he chooses).

Despite this portent, Kani and Ntshona did return to South Africa, and began touring the country with *Sizwe Bansi*. Shortly thereafter, they were reported to have "disappeared."

They now appear to be free and doing well. (The disappearance from Western eyes may simply have been due to the almost complete unavailability of information about South African blacks.)

South African consul Johan Diedericks vehemently denies that Kani or Ntshona were ever arrested. In any case, Ntshona won this year's South African "Oscar" for his appearance in a film of Fugard's, *Marigolds in August*; Kani had also been nominated for his role in the same film. According to Janice Muirhead, assistant to the director at New Haven's Long Wharf Theatre, both actors have been appearing in South Africa in a production of *Waiting for Godot*, which is now running at the Long Wharf Theatre (Nov. 11-Dec. 21) before moving to London's Old Vic.

While John Kani and Winston Ntshona were testing the limits of the apartheid regime, John Huston and James Avery were coping with the pervasive if less deadly frustrations of black actors trying to find meaningful work in the U.S.

Both grew up in San Diego, both served in Vietnam, both returned to drift through various colleges in the San Diego area, both confess cheerfully to having been drawn into theater through the availability of grants. They knew each other casually for several years until they began to work together on stage. Avery was a self-described "hippie," Huston a self-described "flashy dude." Huston on his reaction to Avery at their first meeting: "Why don't you get you some clothes, man?"

Each had an easy entry onto the stage—and each quickly saw through the ease of that entry. Avery, for instance, was in the audition, and was eventually cast in the *Old Globe* within a year of his first experience. He wasn't kidding himself about the reason. He could get some roles he hadn't wanted simply

by being black. But as he matured as an actor, he couldn't move past those roles, because of equal opportunity or something, but if you're serious about your craft you don't need that kind of patronization. You really don't want it, and it kind of burns you up."

After several years of frustration, Avery and Huston joined the founding of the Southern California Black Repertory Theatre where, says Huston, "we could do something important, make our own statements and be able to have autonomy."

The goal, says Avery, was "to be a conservatory, a training ground, because it's very difficult for minority actors—when I say minority I don't just mean black actors, I mean Chicano actors, I

find work, but after he had directed successfully for such sit-coms as *Bewitched* and *Julia*, he found himself stereotyped as a comedy director. He took up teaching as a sideline to support himself while trying to fight clear of this double-bind, and was on the faculty at sedate UCSD when the theater company approached him with *Sizwe Bansi*. He'd seen Kani and Ntshona in the original production during its world tour, and he jumped at the chance to direct it.

There is an irony in Huston and Avery having found a means of escaping stereotyped roles in this imported play. Because while the basic theme of *Sizwe Bansi* could not be more universal, in its particulars it is deeply South African. Huston and Avery are playing ethnic

tion in South Africa, and very specifically he asked them, with the large number of blacks and the small number of whites, why don't the blacks overthrow them and start killing. And John said in plain terms, 'We love the people.' Immediately I thought, whoa, 'cause as a black American...[his voice trails off]. But he said, 'We love the people. We welcomed them into our country, we shared the land with them, we gave them what they wanted. They are African, as African as we are. But we just object to the subjugation and the oppression that they've put upon us, and the breaking of our families and the breaking of our traditions.'

"It made a very plain statement to us in terms of how we were to perform the show. We could not come in with preconceived notions and prejudices. We had to come in and play this show out of a sense of love."

This has a great deal to do with *Sizwe Bansi*'s seeming universal acceptance. It doesn't attack whites, or the system; instead, it subverts by reaching beneath cultural barriers and asking for basic acceptance of the viewer's common humanity with these tormented people. That acceptance granted, revulsion at the system that denies that humanity can only follow.

"What speaks to me about Sizwe," says James Avery, "is his humanity, his extreme spirituality, the extreme belief in humanity and how people should treat each other. He comes from that kind of society, a simple society, very connected to the land, very real. To him, it's all very basic. 'I'm a man, you're a man.' Human beings have responsibilities to each other."

When Oregon Shakespearean Festival producing director Jerry Turner saw the Southern California Black Repertory Theatre production of *Sizwe Bansi* on a tour of California colleges, and invited Avery, Huston and Luther James to recreate it on the Black Swan stage, there was some real question about the Ashland audience's response. It was quickly dispelled, however, as audiences for the show have built up steadily over the summer. The festival is now confident enough to have scheduled the same actors and director to do a production of *The Island* next season.

The Island will definitely put a strain on some sensibilities; it is rawer and more sexually explicit than *Sizwe Bansi*, and the pain it expresses is intolerable and unrelieved. But the festival's experience with *Sizwe Bansi* leaves one confident that *The Island* will be accepted as well, and will be a further step in the education of the kind of comfortable American audience that sorely needs educating about South Africa.

Phillip Johnson is an Oregon journalist.

White playwright Athol Fugard wrote in a "challenge and response" style with black actors.

mean Asian actors as well—to get the training they need to perform and perform well." (Both actors stress that the company is fully integrated.)

"We didn't want to have to be spear-carriers, or the guy who's an attendant to somebody else, or some vicious Moor who kills everybody," says Huston. "We were concerned about an image problem, an image crisis in the theater, having to do with where black people are, and their look at where they stand."

The SCBRT took up a hustling existence that it continues to this day, playing in prisons and on the streets, looking for the next grant to keep alive. But early in its existence, one of its members came across the script to *Sizwe Bansi Is Dead*, and Huston and Avery had their own, very special vehicle.

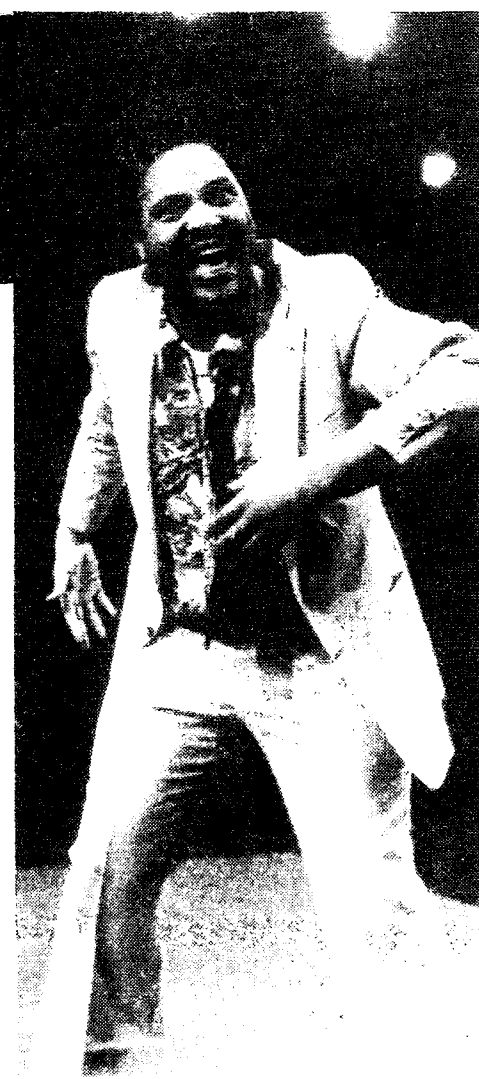
They brought the play to Luther James, a professor at UC San Diego more by necessity than choice. A veteran of New York theater, both on and off Broadway, James was the first black director in commercial television. Not only was it difficult for a black director to

roles, reaching as far as, say, a Texan would to play an Italian part.

The actors are acutely conscious of the reach, not so much in terms of accent or mannerism as in the characters' posture toward white power. "I knew in approaching this play I could not do what John Huston thought was appropriate. I say what's on my mind, and I'm very upfront about it. I'm accused of being arrogant at times. Styles is not. He's a survivor. He'll do what he has to do to make it."

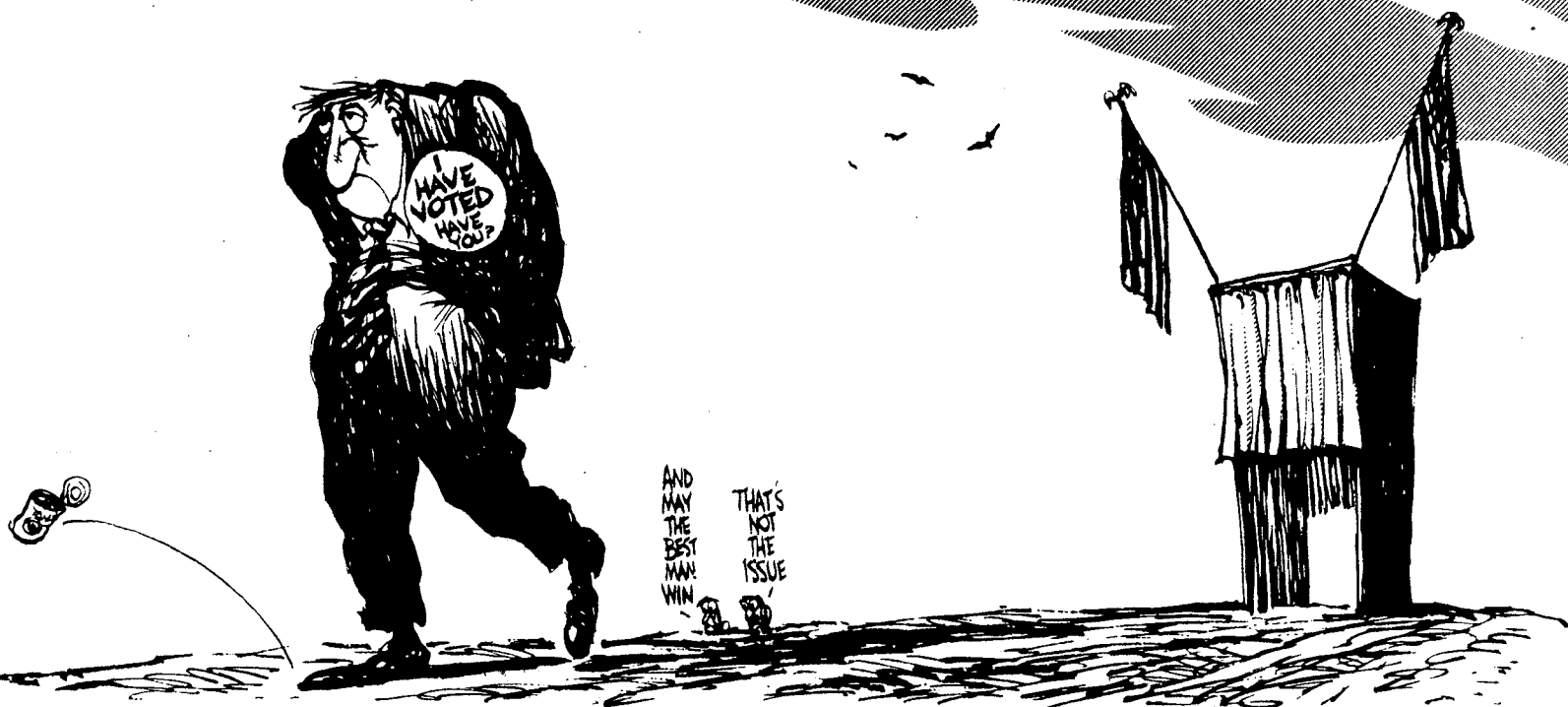
But the difference lies deeper than that. What really startled the American actors was the lack of hatred of the oppressor that characterizes *Sizwe Bansi* and the political activism of South African blacks in general. (This same quality of thought has frequently been reported, often in wondering tones, by American and European writers visiting the country.) Huston watched a TV talk show in which Kani and Ntshona were interviewed by David Susskind, and received a flash of insight.

"He was asking them about the situa-



EDITORIAL

Oliphant/Universal Press Syndicate

©1980 WASHINGTON STAR
UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

The left now has nowhere to go but up

In the wake of the American people's overwhelming repudiation of President Carter and the general debacle of the Democratic Party in Congress, it is not clear whether liberalism itself has been rejected or whether Carter's failure to keep his 1976 promises dragged down other members of his party along with himself. In either case, it is clear that the left was invisible to the vast majority of voters in this election and that leftists within the Democratic Party, if they were noticed at all, were shunned as losers.

Yet Ronald Reagan's victory was hardly the impressive mandate that his supporters claim. While 51 percent of the voters cast their ballots for him, only 52.3 percent of the electorate voted. In line with the trend since 1960, an increasing proportion of Americans chose to abstain. Reagan's support came from only 26.9 percent of the voting-age population. In 1976, 27.2 percent of those eligible voted for Jimmy Carter.

More important, many of Reagan's votes were aimed against Carter, not for Reagan. A *New York Times*/CBS News poll reported that 38 percent of those who gave Reagan their votes were motivated more strongly by dissatisfaction with the current situation and by a desire for change than by commitment to Reagan. For 59 percent, inflation was the determining issue. These voters cast their ballots for Reagan despite his lack of an anti-inflation program. (Reagan's economic advisors concede that his economic program will not reduce inflation below 8 percent by 1985.) As Republican pollster Robert Teeter observed, "Jimmy Carter's record was really the issue." John Sears, Reagan's former campaign manager, summed it up accurately: "The biggest perception that Reagan had going for him was that he wasn't Jimmy Carter."

Carter's campaign, of course, sought to deflect attention from his own record by making Ronald Reagan the issue. But as Carter pollster Pat Caddell candidly confessed, the election "ended up becoming exactly the referendum on unhappiness we had been trying to avoid.... Our campaign fought hard to keep real events out. We knew we had to win...on which man had the best character to han-

dle the job."

Carter's strategy failed because the country's problems are too great to be entirely shunted aside. His defeat continues the trend toward single-term presidencies as the public becomes more and more dissatisfied with incumbents who are unable to solve the problems of our corporate society, or even to address the underlying causes.

And on the left.

From a socialist perspective, the problem is that no one in the mainstream of American politics is addressing the question of corporate responsibility for the wide range of problems confronting our country. True, in this election Barry Commoner and the Citizens Party made a valiant attempt to do so, but as we have pointed out before, it was an attempt doomed to failure by its choice of arena.

Citizens Party founders believed that this year presented the best opportunity in decades for a third party, given the odious choices presented by the major parties. But, in addition to all of the difficulties of putting together a new electoral party with no organized social base, the Citizens Party was particularly hard hit by lesser-evilism.

Commoner and other party leaders initially believed that their greatest potential was among the 48 percent of the elec-

torate that didn't vote, yet their support came from among those most politically active on the independent left. And at the last moment most of those supporters apparently followed the mass of American voters and cast a negative ballot—though against Reagan and for Carter, rather than *vice versa*. The result was less than one-half of 1 percent (about 250,000 votes) for Commoner.

The irony is that Commoner's perception about non-voters is correct. Along with already-voting trade unionists, blacks and Hispanics, most non-voters are a potential constituency for a practical socialist politics. Indeed, in Europe, where there are substantial socialist and social democratic parties that represent working-class interests, 85 to 90 percent of the population votes. In the U.S., where Democratic and Republican presidential candidates confine their support of working people's interests to election campaigns, the non-voters are mostly among working and poor people.

But given the nature of our political system, the solution is not a third party. Both structurally and historically, ours is a two-party system. That's the bad news. The good news is that the parties are not private, as in many other countries, but are in large part governmental structures, open by law and by historical practice to anyone—or any group—that

registers in them and operates through them. There is thus no reason why socialists and other leftists cannot build their own constituencies and their own legislative blocs—in state legislatures and in Congress—within the Democratic Party. That is precisely what the right, with a smaller potential base of support than the left (but with a leadership much more in tune with American political life), has done in the Republican Party.

A new beginning.

Four years ago some socialists saw Carter's election as the beginning for a new politics of the left. Now we can see that it was a false start, however unavoidable, and that concentration on presidential politics this year has reached a dead end.

Luckily, every dead end dictates a new beginning, and this time the evidence is clear enough so that we may all do it right.

For starters, citizen action groups, trade unions, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and other organization or movement leaders and activists should shift their efforts from lobbying to running for legislative office, either in Democratic primaries or as independents, where feasible. A Barry Commoner in Congress would be able to do a lot more for his political ideas, and for his supporters, than in a hopeless presidential campaign. A Michael Harrington in the House (not the one who's there now) would be an even more powerful voice for socialism than he is now.

Beyond a handful of leaders, hundreds of other activists on the left should begin contesting for office on all levels—from city councils and county boards of supervisors to Congress. And they should see this as the start of a long-term commitment, not as a one-shot experiment.

In the early '70s, a group of socialists in Iowa City ran a comrade for city council. In his first—and only—time out, he got 26 percent of the vote. The group concluded that electoral politics doesn't work.

That has been typical of the left when it goes out on its own. But that all-too-American need for instant gratification has only led to constant political frustration, experienced again this year.

It really is time for a change.

Once more with angst

The election returns are in, but the future of the United States remains in doubt. Almost everyone was dissatisfied with the available choices. Few are delighted with the result.

Yet this campaign was not significantly worse than most presidential contests of recent decades. The difference between this and past elections was not that most voters acted against rather than for a candidate or party. That has been common in this century. Nor were the two major parties less different from each other than before. Their differences were as real and explicit as at any time since the 1930s.

The new element in this election is that more and more people find these

differences inadequate to meet the problems facing our society. Voters and non-voters alike know, or sense, that the limits to public discourse set by the major parties prevent shedding old alternatives and defining new ones.

To more and more people it is clear that the political system is at an impasse. It presents us all with little more than dilemmas: choices between equally obnoxious or no longer credible alternatives. That is why the more exposure President Ford and President-elect Carter got, the harder it was to choose between them.

—from *In These Times*, Vol. 1, No. 1
Nov. 15, 1976

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

THE NEW STATESWOMAN

PAT AUFDERHEIDE'S STATEMENT IN "The Empire of Information," (*ITT*, Oct. 1) that "the most powerful limits on journalists concern not what they are permitted to write but what they wish to write" reminded me of the following observation of the late Kingsley Martin, editor of *New Statesman*:
You cannot hope to bribe or twist, Thank God, a British journalist. But seeing what the fellow will do Unbribed, there's really no occasion to.

-E.E. Patterson
 Davidson, N.C.

JEWS AND GAYS

I ENJOY THE RELIABLE QUALITY OF your cultural reportage—Pat Aufderheide's review of *Ordinary People* is a good example of presenting me with a viewpoint that would have not been clear to me on my own. I must say the same of Lee Baxandall's review of *Playing for Time*—whether or not Rubenstein (*ITT*, Letters, Nov. 5) is correct in calling the comparison to Brecht naive, it nonetheless presented Miller's perspective from a vantage point outside the script, lending me just the "thinking aid" I needed. I must, however challenge Baxandall's abrupt dismissal of the controversy surrounding the production; implicit to me, if not others, was the idea: "Here go the extremist Jews making a big thing out of nothing." It is such an attitude that breeds what could "cleanly" be called disregard for an ethnic minority's opinion about its self-representation, and more brashly would be termed unaware anti-Semitism.

I must also respond to David Moberg's response to Jonathan Greenberg's letter (*ITT*, Oct. 29). He tends to diminish the importance of gay organizations on campuses with his impression that they "are less political than Greenberg reports and more social or service centers." Attending a gay social event is countering society's pressure to remain unseen, which, for lesbians and gay men, is in itself a political act of defiance. Remember that, since they were only "executing criminals," the fate of the tens of thousands of gays exterminated by the Nazi regime received no recognition. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the legislation used by the Nazis remained in effect through the late '60s: who of the survivors of the gay holocaust could have come forward to tell the story until recently? And how careful must lesbians and gay men remain today in gauging their visibility, as the sexual act is illegal throughout most of this country?

-Name withheld
 Washington, D.C.

PROBLEMS OF THE RICH!

I TOO WEPT WHILE VIEWING *ORDINARY People* (*ITT*, Oct. 29). However, emotional identification through quality acting does not obscure the film's obvious contradiction. The roles portrayed are not "ordinary people"—they are the very rich!

In the style of *The Graduate* and *Dallas*, *Ordinary People* was another adventure with the problems of the

rich. This film style dominates our media and typically omits: 1) work, 2) voting, 3) diapers, and 4) any form of physical ugliness.

In my experience, most "ordinary" working people haven't the time, energy or cash to support extensive or expert exploration of emotional problems.

For the working person, or the person weary from work, the emotional voyage portrayed in *Ordinary People* is a luxurious vacation cruise financed by abundant wealth...and the profits made from the labor of truly ordinary people.

ITT workers, writers...keep on kicking assets!

-Bob Fitch
 Weed, Calif.

FOR THE RECORD

YOUR ARTICLE ON BARRY COMMONER (*ITT*, Oct. 22) contained two errors in a single sentence, because the article's author, David Moberg, believed the Citizens Party instead of checking independently. The party was on the ballot in 29 states, not 31; and this is not a record for the first time out by a new, independent party. The Socialist Party in 1900 was a new, independent party, and it got its presidential candidate on the ballots of 34 states (and there were only 45 states back then).

-Richard Winger
 San Francisco

NEW STRUCTURES

THE NOV. 4 ISSUE OF *ITT* LEFT ME with not only a deep sense of disappointment, but also with many doubts about the future of the paper. I assume there were some readers looking for guidance in the presidential race—you threw them a stone.

The cover, "Home is where the voters are," inferred that the choosing of a president was an irrelevancy. John Judis made a lukewarm choice of Carter in a tired replay of the old lesser-evil argument. David Moberg told us that blue-collar workers might go for either Reagan or Carter if they bothered to vote at all.

And that was it. Nowhere was there a single mention by an *ITT* writer of either the Citizens Party or its candidate, Barry Commoner. This despite the fact that the Citizens Party platform comes immeasurably closer to the ideals and positions expressed throughout the year by *ITT* than does the Republican/Democratic program.

The pace of change in our society and throughout the world continues to accelerate; the task of the political activist is to guide that change in peaceful and progressive directions. We need to build new structures for that task, not "buy time" through the quadrennial embrace of lesser-evilism.

-Richard M. Powell
 Malibu, Calif.

STRAWS

YOUR PERCEPTIVE EDITORIAL DELINEATING voter frustration in 1980 (*ITT*, ??) overstates the case by insisting that "few people would take a third-party candidate seriously."

But the undeniable fact is that some five million or so souls did vote for Anderson, despite time and money limitations and exclusion from the debate,

not to speak of cold water from *ITT* and the usual ideologues and sectarians of the Old Left.

To belittle the herculean effort of thousands of young volunteers who labored against terrible odds to gather two million signatures to enable voters of the 50 states to reject choice of the two major parties is to make a mockery out of resolution of "building both a legislative base and effective structures for political action."

Sure, Anderson policies left a lot to be desired, but he did articulate positively on energy, arms limitation and wage and price control of inflation, leaving the door open to new ideas and approaches.

Instead of pooh-poohing fresh, enthusiastic young people moving away from establishment parties, we should be encouraging them, offering our experience and knowledge and helping them organize independently.

-Irving Gold
 Miami Beach, Fla.

LAST RESORT

DESPITE WHAT THE ELECTION RESULTS might indicate, all is not lost. I suggest we take up a collection and donate a four-year supply of vitamins to each Supreme Court justice. Reagan cannot turn the Court further to the right if the Justices manage to live out his term. And it is in the courts that so many victories for human rights must still be won.

-Jan Smith
 Oshkosh, Wisc.

ETHNIC INDIFFERENT

IT WAS GOOD TO READ MARI JO BUHLE's "Feminists help working women bridge class lines" (*ITT*, Sept. 10).

In her account of the great Shirtwaist Makers Strike beginning in November 1909, however, it seems there are several instances of misjudgment.

She asserts that "the Shirtwaist Makers did not win their major demands for

a union shop..." But more than 300 of the 500 struck firms settled on the union's terms of a 52-hour week, wage increases and union recognition.

The Women's Trade Union League did support the strike, but whether their role was decisive, as Buhle says, I do not know. Undoubtedly, the help of the middle class WTUL women was important, but the decisive role was played by the militant 20,000 young women strikers, most of them Jewish, many of them Italian. Also important for the victory was the support of the United Hebrew Trades, of the Jewish Socialist movement and of leaders of the Jewish community like Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. It is unfortunate that Buhle was indifferent to the ethnic dimensions of this strike both in the Jewish community and in the Italian community. For Italian women to strike was really an historic development in 1909.

It is true that when the strike was called by Local 25 of the ILGWU, the local had only 100 members and \$4.00 in the treasury, but at the end of the strike it had 10,000 members. I am sure the strike leaders appreciated the fact that the WTUL women "sat behind the tables and enrolled women into the union, raised funds and provided publicity, walked the picketlines and went to jail with the strikers," as Buhle writes.

At the very next AF of L convention, president Samuel Gompers called attention to the heroism of these young women strikers as an example for the entire labor movement. This strike also was the inspiration and example that led to the New York cloakmakers strike in July 1910, when some 50,000 turned out.

-Morris U. Schappes, editor
 Jewish Currents
 New York

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



The American Labor Calendar For 1981.

The new 1981 calendar, *United We Stand*, features the working people of America.

Beautifully reproduced photographs taken both on and off the job show working men and women, blacks and whites, young and old, from a variety of workplaces.

The photos were selected from the work of Earl Potter, photographer for the publication, *American Labor*.

To order copies, send just \$2.95 each plus \$1 per copy for postage and handling.

Prices for bulk orders are: 11 to 20 copies, \$2.60 each plus \$1 each for postage and handling; 21 copies or more, \$2.50 each plus 50 cents per copy for postage and handling.

All proceeds from calendar sales go to support the American Labor Education Center, a non-profit project set up by former union staff members.

Mail your orders to the American Labor Education Center, 1835 Kilbourne Place N.W., Washington, D.C. 20010. Phone: 202-462-8925 or 202-387-6780.

You'll Be Proud To Have One.

Part III: Prospects



CO-OPS



Co-op bank may spur growth

This is last in a three-part series on the history and current state of the cooperative movement in the United States.

By John Magney

LEGISLATION CREATING A NATIONAL Consumer Cooperative Bank was signed into law by President Carter two years ago. Although the event received little media attention, leaders of the coalition of co-op, consumer and labor groups that had lobbied long and hard for the Bank were ecstatic. "It is a landmark act," proclaimed Glen Anderson of the Cooperative League. The *Co-op News* of Berkeley called it "one of the most important events in the history of American cooperatives."

The proposal for the Bank came out of discussions between Ralph Nader and officials of the Cooperative League in the mid-'70s. To promote consumer co-op growth, they proposed a national lending institution patterned after the Banks for Cooperatives system for farm co-ops. It would be set up with seed money from the federal government, which would eventually be paid back. Then ownership of the Bank would revert to cooperatives.

The fight to get the proposal through Congress took two and a half years. Introduced in late 1975, the Bank bill ran into strong opposition from President Ford's Treasury Department, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and other business lobbies when hearings were held in 1976. The bill died in committee, but was quickly reintroduced after Jimmy Carter's election. A major lobbying effort for the bill finally hit pay dirt midway through the summer of 1977, when it cleared the House by a razor-thin 199 to 198 vote. A year later, it won Senate approval by a much more comfortable 60 to 33 margin.

In the year between the House and Senate votes, the White House dropped its initial opposition to the Bank after Carter's chief consumer advisors, Stuart Eisenstadt and Ester Peterson, and outside lobbyists convinced him of the need for the legislation. What finally turned Carter around, according to some reports, was a visit to a low income housing co-op during his tour of the South Bronx in late 1977. Also during the interim, says Washington columnist J.F. terHorst: "What was first seen as a liberal boondoggle...became a conservative rallying

point in the Senate. Some of the chamber's most anti-spending members rather liked the idea of a government-launched program that would eventually become self-supporting."

Although the bill Carter signed into law had been watered down in its passage through Congress (mainly the amount of federal seed money), the concept of the Bank remained intact. The main part of the bill provided that the Bank would be capitalized with \$300 million in low-interest federal loans over five years. Up to ten times that amount—or \$3 billion—could be raised through the sale of bonds on the private market. Bank loans to co-ops would be made at prevailing interest rates. The Bank would also have to make its "best efforts" to put 35 percent of the loans into co-ops serving low income consumers.

Conditions for rapid growth of large and small co-ops now exist, say optimistic leaders.

The Bank act also created a separate Office of Self-Help Development and Technical Assistance, which would get \$75 million over three years to promote co-op development through low-interest loans, "interest subsidies" on Bank loans, and "capital investment advances." It would also provide technical assistance to co-ops for management training, member education, market surveys and other tasks.

As with many government programs, the process of getting the Bank into operation moved slowly. The administration took almost a year to select and get Senate approval of the 13-person board of directors (since expanded to 15). Staff hiring started late last year, and a permanent president was hired only a couple of months before the Bank opened last March. So far, 23 loans have been authorized, totaling slightly more than \$12 million. Most have gone to older established co-ops.

The Bank's board and staff is loaded with people from co-op, consumer and

other activist backgrounds. Its directors include such people as Father Geno Baroni, Sam Brown, Carol Tucker Foreman, Rev. Albert J. McKnight and *In These Times* sponsor Derek Shearer. "This is one of the most progressive government boards put together in a long time," says a former member of Ralph Nader's Congress Watch. Bank president Carol Greenwald formerly served as the Massachusetts Banking Commissioner, where she earned a reputation as a strong advocate of consumer banking rights. Co-op people working for the Bank are mostly from the older big co-ops, though a few new wave activists have been brought in to do consulting.

Prospects.

But the Bank's loan activity and co-op development work could be much less than its officials would like. In the administration's "amended" March budget, the Bank's appropriation for next year was cut back from \$174 million to \$132.5 million, and Congress may cut it back even further. And some Bank officials think the Reagan administration will be a "real disaster," although others are not sure. "Certainly it would have been better for us if Carter had been re-elected," says board member Shearer. "But I don't think we should assume Ronald Reagan hates co-ops, because we really don't know. He does have some people who are pro-decentralization as opposed to corporate Republicans, and I think we could deal with people like that. I don't anticipate an all-out attack on the Bank."

Despite the current political uncertainties, Bank officials talk optimistically about the future. Greenwald tells audiences of her hopes to build up cooperatives to serve as a "competitive yardstick" in the consumer economy. Shearer expresses a similar view: "We want to move co-ops out of the fringe, so that in say 10 years they are a significant part of the economy, 5 percent or something like that. We want them to be seen as a legitimate alternative, where the regular family has the option of shopping in a co-op market, putting their kids in a co-op daycare center, and even working in a worker-owned firm."

Outside the Bank, in the co-op movement itself, there is also much optimistic talk about future co-op growth—and an ongoing conflict between old and new wave visions of growth. Although the debate involves several issues, much of it

boils down to two questions: What is the ultimate goal of the co-op movement? And what is the appropriate scale for future growth?

Leaders of the old co-ops have for years defined the goal of the movement narrowly. As Glen Anderson, recently deceased president of the Cooperative League, put it: "I support...[the] theory of the cooperative sector as a counterbalance to government and private enterprise...as an economic and social alternative within the system."

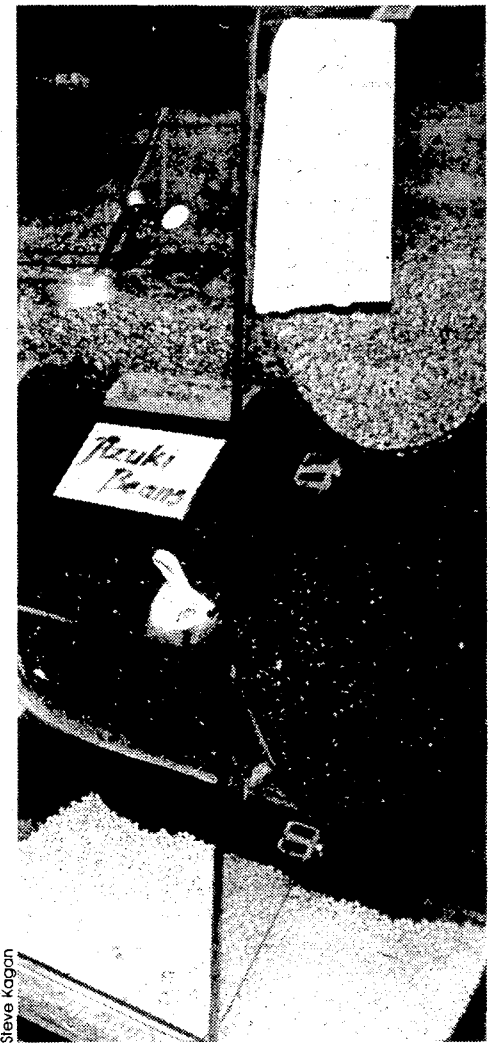
New wave activists, however, often express a much more "radical" view. "I see the movement as being directed toward eventually supplanting...the concept of privately owned, privately held economic institutions with publicly owned or member owned economic institutions," says Bob Pickford of the Federation of Ohio River Co-ops. And in a similar vein, former *Scoop* collective member Cy O'Neil argues: "Co-ops must become organizations...that bring workers and consumers together into one collective effort, geared toward exploring and developing a socialist order and a socialist ethic, both human in scale and humanizing in practice."

When old wave officials talk about the appropriate scale for future growth, they typically talk big: co-ops should supply the corporate model, and develop big centralized structures run by fulltime professionals. This, they say, is the only way co-ops can achieve real "economic clout." New wave activists, however, generally talk about growth as cellular, with many small co-ops being organized and brought together into decentralized federations. This, they argue, is the only way to achieve real "co-op democracy."

Although new and old wave people have been in closer contact in recent years, mainly at co-op conferences, and have gained a better understanding of each other, they have not resolved their differences. Big and small are still viewed as beautiful. The Co-op Bank, with its predominantly old wave orientation, may take some of the steam out of the new wave. But the new wave vision is too well-grounded in grass-roots attitudes to be eliminated from the movement. Little co-ops, like "simpler lifestyles," are here to stay.

As for the future, all of the necessary conditions for continued co-op growth—old wave and new wave—seem to be present. "With inflation, unemployment, plant closures and the rest of it, more and more people are going to be joining co-ops," predicts Shearer. "The times are right."

John Magney has worked in co-ops and has been a consultant and researcher for co-ops for several years. He is now a director of the Intra-Community Cooperative, a federation of "new wave" co-ops in Wisconsin and northern Michigan.



ORGANIZING

The Backyard Revolution: Understanding the New Citizen Movement

By Harry C. Boyte
Temple University Press,
271 pp., \$14.95

By Heather Booth

The morning after the Reagan victory many progressives were astir with confusion and despair. For many it is a time of recriminations. For all, it must become a time for recommitment and organizing. Toward this end, *The Backyard Revolution* is an excellent contribution, re-instilling the spirit of struggle for social justice through organizing.

Harry Boyte has put together a road map to and an analysis of the citizen action organizing that has developed over the last 10 years. It took Boyte three years of traveling and interviewing people around the country to convey the breadth, diversity, depth and impact of these groups. From his description we see a vital new citizen component on the political horizon. These organizations take issues people care about and break them into manageable pieces so that people can do something about them—utility rates, insurance prices, job discrimination, health and safety legislation.

The Backyard Revolution overcomes factional differences and conveys a sense of unity, even between segments of the organizing community that do not see themselves as united. Alinsky groups, citizen action groups, public interest and working women's groups—their combined potential contribution is enormous.

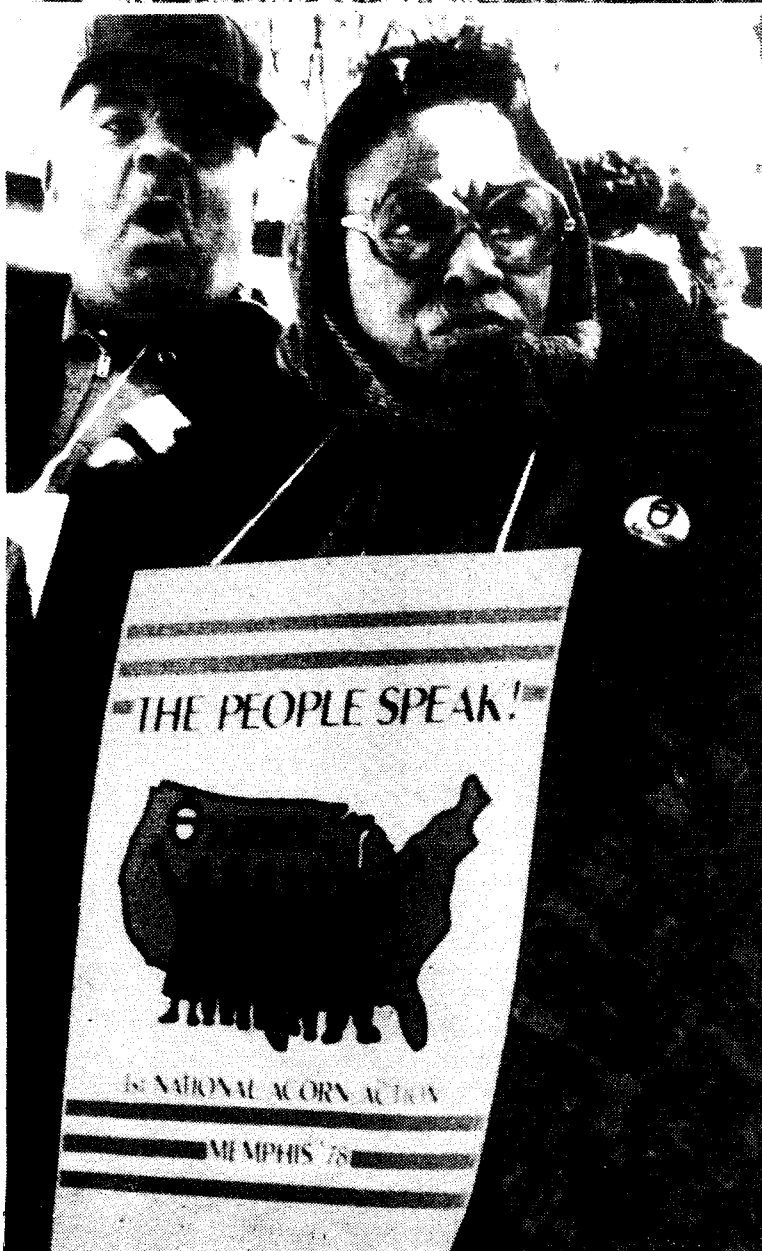
Boyte introduces their work by describing disaffection from major political parties, decline in confidence in the major institutions and the early '70s search for alternatives that defied right or left labels. He critiques the rootless cosmopolitan approach of the '60s left. He argues for combining the search for independence from the system with the need for a rootedness in tradition, in such "free spaces" for organizing as town meetings, women's groups and community associations.

Changing traditions.

Boyte explores the citizen ferment of this "free space." From Alinsky's early efforts in Rochester and Buffalo came organizations, often church-based, that could withstand the ups and downs of social trends. Community-based work emerged into metropolis-wide work with the Campaign against Pollution in Chicago in 1970, and from there developed into the multi-issue community-based organization, such as the Citizens' Action Program. Housewives and homeowners worked with '60s activists such as Father Len Dubi, a young reformist priest, and with Paul Booth, a leader of the anti-war movement.

At the same time, in a period of economic decline, the welfare rights movement grew, led by George Wiley. A majoritarian strategy was necessary—multi-racial organizing of low and middle-income people, against downtown financial interests

Rumblings of change from our backyards



and unresponsive politicians. Statewide organizations developed, and then networks of statewide organizations. What seemed chaotic in the unfolding now looks like logical and steady progress, once pieced together by Boyte's oral history.

The groups grew. For example, Massachusetts Fair Share has over 40,000 members now, in 35 chapters in 11 cities. They have won on issues such as returning \$24 million to the city of Boston from corporations that were on the city tax rolls but not paying their fair share. They also won \$55 million in auto insurance rebates and an array of local victories from forcing the city to rehabilitate abandoned buildings to cleaning up the garbage on time.

The movement Boyte describes is not static. Fair Share is now allied with seven other organizations in a national conference, Citizen Action, which was founded just as Boyte's book went to print. These include Oregon Fair Share, Connecticut Citizens Action Group, Ohio Public Interest Campaign, Illinois Public Action Council, New Hampshire Peoples Alliance and Indiana Citizens Action Coalition.

Networks.

Boyte describes the growth of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), directed by Wade Rathke, a veteran of the welfare rights movement. It began in Little Rock, Ark., grew to be statewide and now represents ACORN groups in more than 20 states. Its victories run from utility rate reform to electoral victories.

Another network is the National People's Action, directed by Shel Trapp and headed by Gail Cincotta, a dynamic leader from Chicago. The group links hundreds of neighborhood groups nationwide, fighting arson, crime, slumlords and other issues. It has compiled an impressive list of victories, especially in forcing community reinvestment by banks. Since this book went to press they won victories against neighborhood discrimination by insurance companies.

Boyte describes some of the groups in the Industrial Areas Foundation, which builds within churches on the legacy of professional organizers trained by Alinsky. It has been particularly effective in Spanish-speaking communities, where the church is a strong part of the social fabric. Boyte describes the work of talented organizer Ernie Cortes in East Los Angeles, San Antonio and (since the book was printed) in a statewide effort in Texas.

He also chronicles the work of such pioneers as Tom Gaudette and Monsignor Jack Egan. Both worked closely with Alinsky and have had the tenacity and flexibility to stay with community organizing—and to inspire generations of organizers in the craft of grassroots democracy.

These efforts are then linked to workplace struggles, especially of working women. There are now working women's groups in 10 states. They have won millions in back pay settlements, new regulations regarding women in insurance and banking and have raised pay and benefits in

hundreds of cases. They have also raised the hopes of thousands of women and increased the likelihood of trade union organizing in women's white-collar work.

The same is true with groups organizing in occupational health and safety. The brown lung organizations in the Carolinas build the confidence of textile workers, which has a relationship to union victories recently won at J.P. Stevens. Groups working on hazardous waste issues are increasing perhaps the fastest of any groups since the book went to press.

Boyte also describes the impressive Nader public interest efforts. In fact, one of the most positive developments in this movement has been increasing coordination between the Nader and citizens' action groups.

Boyte argues that citizens' groups can combine alternatives to "the system" with the strength that tradition offers.

In reading *The Backyard Revolution*, one is struck by the potential of these organizations. But especially following this November election one cannot confuse potential with a movement. There is not yet a movement. Organizing the 500th person is usually as hard as organizing the fifth person.

While many organizations have similar programs, it is a long stretch to either joint activity or common plans for national coordinated action. The movement of the '80s may not be defined by the democratic backyard revolution that Boyte describes, but by one of the right. The right addresses many of the same popular fears of economic decline and of unresponsive government. To mobilize this discontent is our organizing task.

As Boyte says, we need the organizations that actually organize, rooted in people's experience and values. In this situation, citizens' action groups play a critical role.

The role of major institutions as well—the churches, seniors' organizations and especially trade unions—are key. They need to join together in common programs and to revitalize themselves. Many of these institutions can learn from citizens' action groups, just as the groups must learn to institutionalize their base, and also to find electoral expression.

We need the optimism and long-term commitment that Boyte conveys. He offers a non-sectarian view that is clear about differences but clearer about similarities of purpose; a belief in people and their traditions; and a joy in their victories through organized common struggle.

Heather Booth is founder and president of the Midwest Academy, which has provided training for many citizen organizers. She is also executive director of the Citizen-Labor Energy Coalition.

BECOME A MEMBER OF

We are a collective of eight people publishing books which can further social change. Our aims are "totalist." We seek books which can help people understand and overcome political, gender, racial, and economic oppressions in the United States and throughout the world. We seek books of theory and practice, books about history and culture, ideology and consciousness—and books that are visionary. The common denominator is a commitment to the creation of a better society.

Within our publishing collective we try to create social relations consistent with our broader political values. Our organization ensures that all members have equal decision-making power, equally rewarding and skillful work, and equal share of the rote tasks. Our authors play a central role in decisions about the design, production, distribution and promotion of their books. We assess our books in political rather than commodity terms. We work to

state of the industry

The publishing industry is being swallowed up by corporate giants. RCA owns Random House, Knopf, Ballantine Books, Pantheon, Modern Library, L.W. Singer, and Beginner Books, as well as NBC and two radio stations. CBS owns Holt Rhinehart and Winston, Praeger, Pocket Books, and Touchstone. Gulf and Western owns Simon and Schuster, and so on. There were 47 publishing mergers in 1975, 58 in 1976, and 57 in 1977. And two wholesalers control over 60% of the market while almost half of all books are sold through centralized chains.

With the revival of the Cold War and the election of Reagan, such concentration is a threat. Books critical of the government, the economy, or of the racism and sexism that permeate our society either will not be published, or will be edited and promoted in ways which minimize their social impact. In this context South End Press can help foster open and critical debate about the future of our society.

comments about us

"South End Press is more than just another publishing house. It is a nexus of discussion, a major stimulus to left and feminist thinking in this country. Their books are events promoting a radical politics for the eighties."

—Barbara Ehrenreich

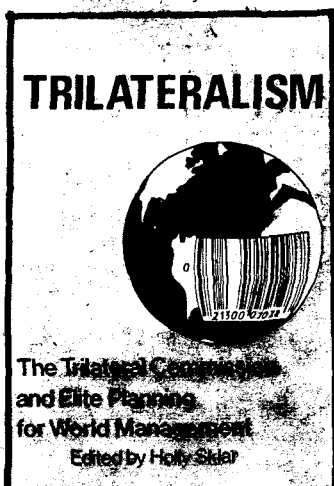
"South End Press has published a number of significant books by Blacks that reflect its commitment to represent the thoughts of Black people in the U.S. This is an important commitment at this time."

—Robert Chrisman

"South End Press is becoming an important institution for all critical and radical thinkers to support. To develop a forward looking left culture, theory, and movement we should all support their work."

—Herb Gintis

new releases



The end of Carter is not the end of Trilateralism. On the contrary, the Trilateral Commission's David Rockefeller supported Reagan. This collection is comprehensive not only about the history, make-up, and aims of the commission, but also about the wider spectrum of issues determining international political and economic policy-making.

605 pp.

\$8.00



The Dutch journalist Henrik Kruger uncovers the alliances between the Mafia, rightist extremist ex-Nazis in Spain, neo-fascist QAS veterans in France, Latin American terrorists, and Miami Mafia and Cuban exiles. Ranging from Nixon, to Meyer Lansky, to the CIA Kruger shows the central role of heroin in financing rightist movements, and the complicity of government agencies in these acts.

250 pp.

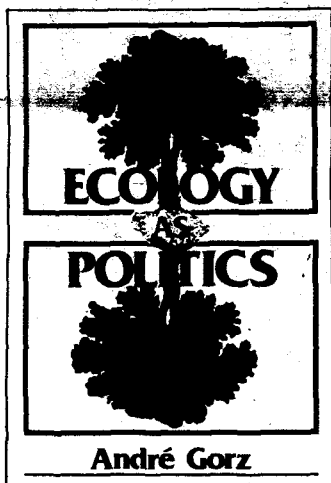
\$5.50



With clarity and conciseness, Marable analyzes the forces influencing the Black movement in the 70s, its inability to realize the freedom and equality promised by the civil rights movement, and the economic, political, and cultural problems which must be addressed to rejuvenate a movement for grassroots Black liberation.

230 pp.

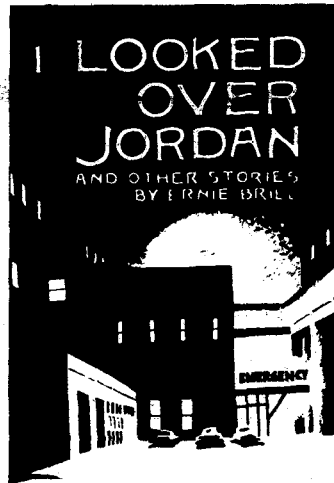
\$5.50



A major premise of this book is that we cannot avoid the political nature of ecological issues. But at the same time, the ecology movement must not be made an end in itself, but a stage in a larger struggle.

215 pp.

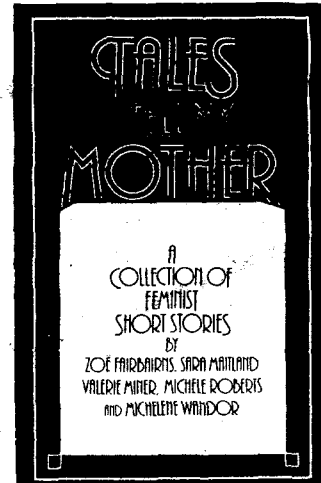
\$5.50



Brill's volume is a Chaplin-esque collection about hospitals, workers, patients, and their families. The reader will find a poignant view of a medical world seldom seen in stories which show the texture and meaning of what goes on behind the hospital's white doors.

288 pp.

\$6.00



A unique book of stories about work, abortion, sexuality, and discrimination written as a collective project by five feminists. These stories test the definition of feminism while extending the short story literary form as well.

161 pp.

\$5.00

coming soon

Women and Revolution edited by Lydia Sargent

This controversy book is built around Heidi Hartman's "Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism." The contributors discuss the relative importance and interrelation of kin and economic, gender and class relations to problems of understanding and overcoming patriarchy and capitalism. Are sexual differences and kin relations as important to social change as economics?

300 pp.

\$6.00

Chains of Change by Mel King

A Boston Mayoral candidate, King surveys Boston life to find the causes of racism and potentials for liberation. He examines social service institutions, business, schools, the media, housing, and government to show the effects of racism and also how the Black community has worked to establish its own identity, language, and organizations.

320 pp.

\$6.00

Statistics for Social Change Lucy Horwitz & Lou Ferleger

This is a book for everyone who wants to learn about statistics and their misuse: "Most people either fear or mistrust statistics. But in fact there is a great deal we can learn through statistical analysis both about establishment lies and about how the world actually works."

300 pp.

\$10.00

more backlist

Conversations in Maine by Boggs and Paine, \$4.80
Strike! by Jeremy Brecher, \$5.00
Common Sense for Hard Times by Brecher & Costello, \$5.00
They Should Have Served that Cup of Coffee by Dick Cluster, \$5.50
Indignant Heart by Charles Denby, \$4.80
Theatre for the 98% by Maxine Klein, \$4.50
LOUDcracks/SOFThearts by Jean Lozoraitis, \$3.75
The Sun Betrayed by Ray Reece, \$5.50
Ba Ye Zwa by Judy Seidman, \$4.50
Creative Differences by Talbot & Zheutlin, \$6.50
U.S. Military Involvement by Western Mass. ACAS, \$5.00

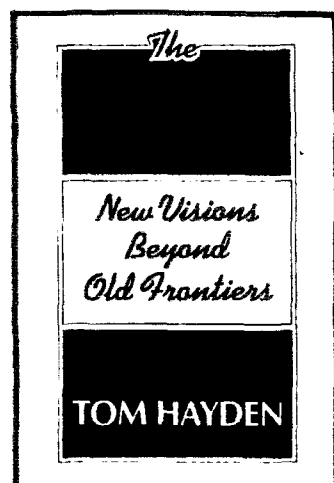
SOUTH END PRESS

**\$15 a year
two free books
40% discount**



overcome racial and sexual divisions and also divisions between mental and manual labor. Our work to date has involved many difficulties—not only the problems with too much work and with trying to create fulfilling social relations and to then live up to them, but there has also been severe underfinancing. This has put limits on advertising, print-runs, the quality of our equipment, advances we can give authors, and income for

collective members. Now, however, we have gotten a large loan and sales are increasing. But at the same time success spurred by loans can be a big problem. Debt can grow to exceed revenue causing losses and failures. To avoid this and to maximize gains in the Reaganite period ahead, we need a base of supporters from whom we can expect on-going support. Please take note of the membership notice on the page below.



Hayden's analysis focuses on general values, politics, ecology, economics and foreign policy. He details his understanding of contemporary ills, outlines a visionary solution, and discusses a path of transition in the eighties including a vision of a new democratic party.
320 pp. \$6.00

The Crisis in the Working Class & Some Arguments For a New Labor Movement

BY JOHN McDERMOTT

This down to earth look at the situation of workers in the U.S. today begins with an indictment of contemporary trade unionism, takes us on a survey of labor history, and finally focuses on the role of big capital and organized labor in the U.S. today.
260 pp. \$6.00



This is a Chicago story about landlord tenant relations and racism—the shadows cast by the skyscrapers of the Loop where money is king fall like a blight over Little Italy.
325 pp. \$6.00

why become a member?

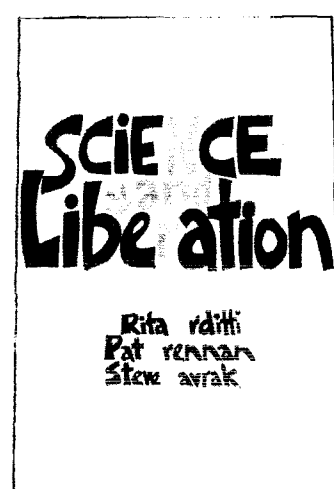
You likely read ITT to stay on top of the latest news and commentary and to support ITT's efforts to reach a growing audience. We hope you will choose to relate to South End Press similarly. A one year membership costs \$15 and entitles you to two free books of your choice and a 40% discount on each additional title you order for a year. There are three main reasons we'd like you to use the coupon below to become a member, get two free books, and order some others at your member-discount.

1. If 20,000 ITT readers became SEP members we would see an increase in yearly revenues of over \$300,000 from this one source. This would allow substantial regularization of our operations, an increase in direct mail and media advertising, and increases in manuscript solicitations and advances to help potential authors.

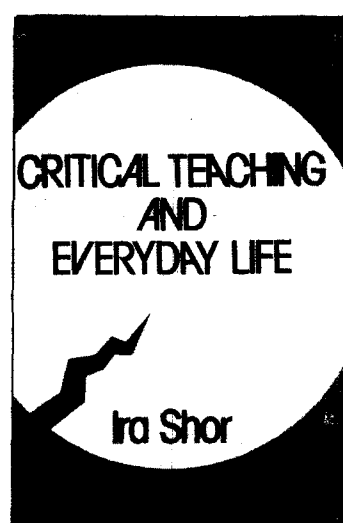
2. New members would not only receive books and provide us a steady revenue, but you would also receive our author/member newsletter including information about the press and publishing, mini-reviews, and interviews of authors and readers alike. This increase in memberships would provide a base of people who could criticize our work, provide new ideas, and generally be in touch with activists across the country. If we are to be an effective political press, this kind of direct link is crucial.

3. Finally, a growing membership will mean more people reading our books, discussing them, and ordering them for course use. We believe South End Press books can help people create a new politics for the eighties and so we think the momentum large membership support can give to distribution is another important reason for people to respond to this ad.

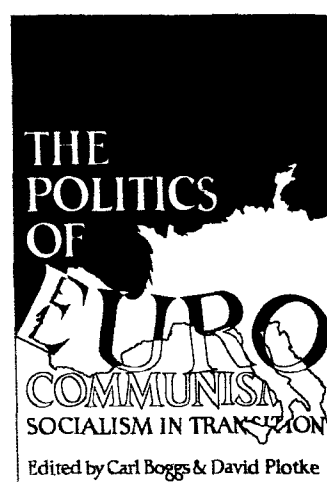
Many of the titles on these pages are of obvious contemporary importance. They are books that deserve the widest possible attention and debate. Help us increase our efforts by becoming a member. After all, you can consider it an expropriation. Just buy two fewer books from Random House, Simon and Schuster, or Praeger (respectively owned by RCA, Gulf and Western, and CBS), and transfer the funds to us. Surely to save 40%, get excellent books, support a new collective institution, and simultaneously expropriate a few multinationals all in one act is motive enough send in the coupon included below.



A collection of essays dealing with the role of science and scientists as "servant" to interest groups. Science and sex roles, racism, factory organization, ecology, and health are all a focus.
397 pp. \$6.50

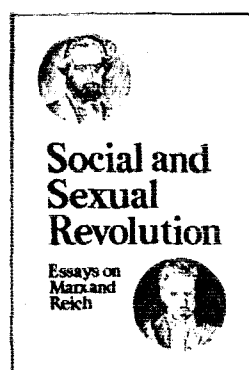


This is a unique book which develops a radical pedagogy side-by-side with a political economy of schooling. A joint social history and pedagogy, Shor's book offers teaching methods rooted in the myth, thought, feelings and words of American life.
304 pp. \$6.00

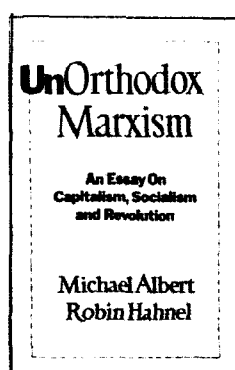


With the dissolution of traditional party relationships in the U.S., it is more important than ever to come to grips with the Eurocommunist experience. This is a comprehensive collection which not only provides the necessary background and contemporary description, but also some very intelligent critical evaluation.
480 pp. \$6.50

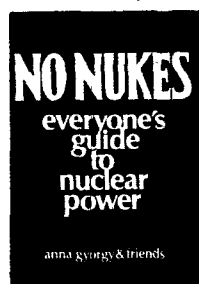
backlist



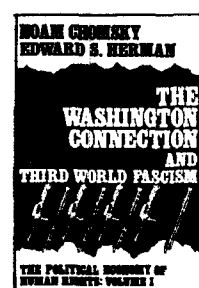
\$5.50



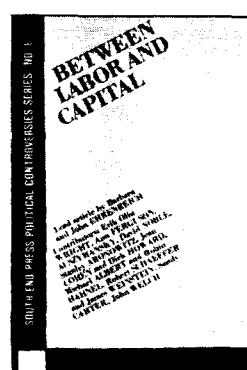
\$4.80



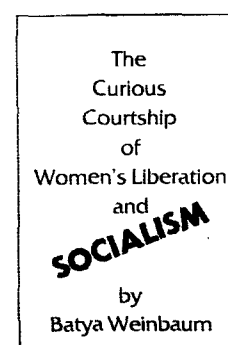
\$10.00



\$6.50



\$4.75



\$4.00

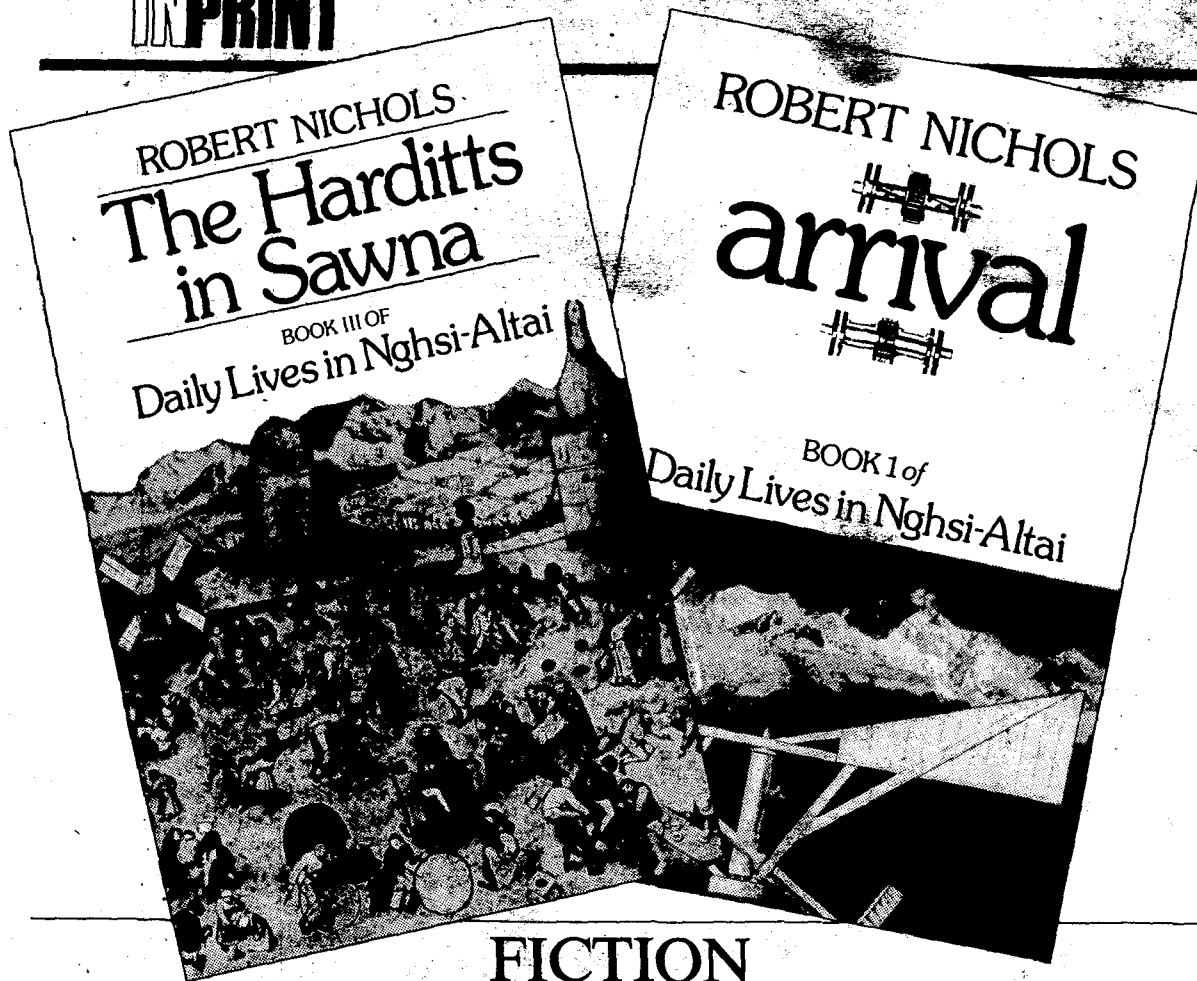
future titles

Intellectual Origins of the French New Left by Arthur Hirsh
Exit 13 by Monte Piliawsky
Screw by Tom Ryan
Socialist Visions edited by Steve Shalom
Dark Ages: U.S. History in the 1950s by Marty Jezer
Cracks in the Empire by Paul Joseph
Notes on India by Bob Bohm
Soul Clap its Hands and Sing by Natalie Petesch
Art, Politics, and Social Life in the U.S. by Paul Von Blum
U.S. Imperialism and Iran by Mansour Farhang
Socialism Today and Tomorrow by Albert & Hahnel

to order

Send your name and address and \$15 for a one year membership, (\$30 for three years and \$100 for lifetime) plus the names of the two titles you'd like free, plus names and payment for any additional titles you'd like at 40% off, to: SOUTH END PRESS, BOX 68, ASTOR STATION, BOSTON MA. 02123. Please include suggestions, comments, criticisms, and ideas. We will respond promptly. Thank You.

INPRINT



FICTION

A utopia in our time

Daily Lives in Nghsi-Altai. By Robert Nichols a utopian novel in several volumes: *Arrival*, New Directions, 1977, \$1.95; *Garh City*, New Directions, 1978, \$3.95; *The Harditts in Sawna*, New Directions, 1979, \$3.95; *Exile*, New Directions, 1979, \$3.95; *Red Shift: An Introduction to Nghsi-Altai*, Penny Each Press (Thetford, Vt. 05074), 1977, \$2.50

By Paul Johnson

Utopia. The label grates on most modern ears. The literal sense is simply "no place"—an imagined people, time, and/or country. But ever since 1516, when Sir Thomas More made it the title for his sketch of a purportedly perfect state, it has served as a catch-all for notions of how idyllic life could be if only the power, wealth and means of production of society could be reorganized. One problem with the term is that many so-called utopias—including the two probably most famous, More's own and Plato's *Republic*—are dictatorships predicated on stringent control of individual behavior, including such cultural equivalents of prefrontal lobotomy as Plato's banning poets from his idea city-state in the interests of stability.

This autocratic tendency was reversed to some extent when the utopian essay became a type of popular novel, flowering most conspicuously amid the 19th-century anarchists. William Morris' *News from Nowhere* (1891) is the enduring example, and while I have to admit that Morris can still create a sizeable lump in my throat with his pre-Raphaelite vision of an England clean and green and free of both government and money, he and his ilk were responsible for the milksoppy, pollyannish flavor the genre soon acquired.

The last century also saw the rise of "scientific" utopias, as in Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888), where benevolent technological progress cures all the cankers of history. But by 1932, when Aldous Hux-

ley's *Brave New World* appeared, our dewy utopian rosebush had shrivelled into a cynical little weed. The question of what life might be like if primary social wrongs were righted apparently tends to pall when the likeliest actual futures no longer bear thinking about.

There is yet another venerable literary tradition, the anti-utopia, which can be traced back through Jonathan Swift and Bernard Mandeville all the way to Aristophanes' *The Birds*. Here perennial dreams of societal perfectibility are cut up into comic paperdolls with the shears of satire. Alter conditions however radically you please, according to these wits, you'll never remove oafish humanity's innate stupidity or greed.

Where does Nichols' work belong among all these sub-categories? The only simple answer to that question is, Everywhere and nowhere. It is a tale about "ordinary time"—*Daily Lives*—beyond history, in that never-never land we call "after the revolution." The world he describes is "real," and hardly idyllic or even especially benign for some of the people in it. And satire is definitely one of his many modes. Whatever label we paste on it, though, *Nghsi-Altai* is one of the most provoking, beguiling and haunting modern works I know.

You don't absolutely need *Red Shift* to follow what's going on in *Nghsi-Altai*, but it surely helps. The title refers to a phenomenon in astronomy comparable to the Doppler effect in sound—it's what happens to the light from a star moving away from us so fast and far that it will soon vanish utterly. This is not an introduction in any conventional sense; "warm-up" is a lot more like it.

The final section of *Red Shift* is a discussion of a proposed "journey to an undiscovered country" among "myself, William Blake the poet, and the Cuban documentary filmmaker Santiago Alvarez." Their expedition is to be sponsored by "The Environmental Control Gang," a surreal bunch of middle-aged briefcase-toting "mutualist/insurrectionaries" with a cover

agency called "ADD-RITE" officed in the Empire State Building. We've met the Gang earlier in a wonderfully funny series of sketches entitled "Cleaning up the Hudson." Their leader is "Rags" Malatesta, and they include such radical luminaries as Emma Goldman, "Sandy" Berkman, "Josie" Warren and Bill Haywood.

In *Arrival* our guides are landed in Nghsi-Altai by helicopter and quickly settle into a village called Sawna. ("The author" has been replaced by Jack Ker-

ouac, who's killed off abruptly at the end of this volume and replaced in turn by William Morris.) They begin to study the people there—the last and debate how best to report on a society at once technologically sophisticated (along Schumacherian lines) and political anarcho-syndicalist, yet profoundly "primitive" in its matriarchal kinship system and all-pervading mystical animism.

All these books are as concise and complex and incapable of coherent summary as any good poetry, and much of the text is in verse form. *Arrival* is only 54 pages long, the whole tetralogy is just 363 pages, and *Red Shift* another 118. Everything is developed with dizzying speed, sleight-of-hand fashion conveying the feel of epic proportions. By page 6 here we've already learned a great deal about the culture, and we've met the two main characters. The subsequent books acquaint us intimately with their whole clan.

Book III, *The Harditts in Sawna*, is the most conventionally written and in many ways also the most engrossing. Six personal stories are told, all reflecting a common perspective. Life can be made a great deal more wholesome and satisfying in general. We can live without war, famine, the grosser social inequities and environmental destruction ("The confederacy of Nghsi-Altai is an open steady state"). But no political structure, however perfected in design, can guarantee individual happiness or shield us from the fears and miseries of adolescence or growing old. No redistribution of power, however sweeping, can keep apparatchiks from inveigling their way back into cynical control. You can't erase hypocrisy, cupidity or superstition from the species, even by consensus. And most of all:

*O brief brief the life
of the individual in the
Commune
like a dew drop on a blade of*

*grass in the morning
it concentrates the light
from the six directions
then evaporates into weather*

By the last book, *Exile*, our guides have shrunk to "individuality freak shows" with a carnival troupe, spouting their misguided egotism for the entertainment if not edification of villagers, glimpsed by us only in passing. The principal actor now is a black bean in a jarful of yellow ones:

"In some sections of Nghsi-Altai has been drought. The monsoon rains have not come in season. And this burden must be distributed through every part. To keep the balance, Sawna families will be diminished."

And so there is a population lottery, and the Harditt matriarch draws the black bean, which means that Sathan's and Venu's household must emigrate, in a caravan with other luckless exiles, to "America," wherever that may be. The ghostly, dream-like quality lurking throughout the series now takes over completely, as the Harditts disappear back through skeins of shimmering primeval metaphor.

Science and magic, politics and poetics, tragedy and farce, statistics and myth—Nichols spins his delicate connectives between them in ways that few writers have been inspired even to attempt. He has done enormously more here with his notations than merely to show us "the skin of history turned inside out." Nghsi-Altai may be utopian in the sense that it is nowhere and everywhere, but it is also as real as the wooded mountains of Vermont, or the gritty sidewalks of New York's Lower East Side. Having visited the country twice now with him, I'm sure it's a trip I'll want to take again—and there isn't much contemporary fiction I can say that about.

Paul Johnson is a New Mexico writer.

Short Notice

"Human Rights in the Northern Ireland Conflict, 1968-1980"

International Journal of Politics, 10 (Spring, 1980)
Edited by Alfred McClung Lee
Distributed by M.E. Sharpe,
901 N. Broadway,
White Plains, NY 10603

This special issue includes essential documents reflecting British imperial policy and viewpoints of the contesting groups in Northern Ireland. Lee's sensitive introduction reviews a past of colonial exploitation, class strife and religious violence with a rare blend of fairness and commitment. **DRR**

Passion: New Poems, 1977-1980

By June Jordan
Beacon Press, 100 pp., \$10.95 (hardcover) and \$4.95 (paper)
Over 50 of Jordan's recent poems are collected here. All reflect an urgency, vitality, spontaneity and democratic vision which Jordan links, in a marvelous introductory essay, to the heritage of Walt Whitman. Among the finest of the verses are tributes to Fannie Lou Hamer, Fidel Castro and Sojourner Truth. **DRR**

The Photographs of Chachaji

By Ved Mehta
Oxford, 237 pp., \$15.95
This disarming account of the making of a TV documentary

tells you more than you might guess about both the turning of life into art and the barriers to cross-cultural understanding. The well-known author returned to his native India to help film the story of his poor relation's daily life, an exemplary



Chachaji

miniature of an Indian reality today. Mehta's good-willed patience with the foreigners' view of India (hunting for horrific images—"the abyss"), with local bureaucrats and with Chachaji's habits is remarkable, and his opinions on documentaries should be widely

heard. *New Yorker* readers will remember Mehta (*Mamaji*) and also Chachaji, who first showed up in those pages. **PA**

Paved with Good Intentions: the American Experience and Iran

By Barry Rubin
Oxford, 426 pp., \$17.50
Barry Rubin tries to balance the excesses of American support for the Shah against the excesses of the Khomeini revolution. The result is something

of a whitewash of American policy and intentions in Iran. But Rubin's account is nonetheless the most complete available of American policy and Iranian history from 1953 to July 1980. **JJ**

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, John Judis, David Roediger

By Steve Rosswurm

At first listen *The River*, Bruce Springsteen's new double album, seems almost trivial compared to *Born to Run* and *Darkness on the Edge of Town*. The record seems to be a hodgepodge of songs we had heard before ("Point Blank," "Independence Day," "Ties That Bind"), rockers that would be fun in concert ("Cadillac Ranch," "I'm a Rocker," "Crush on You"), and serious, almost funereal pieces ("The Price You Pay," "Wreck on the Highway," "Drive All Night")—nothing to match the passion and grandeur of "Thunder Road" and "Badlands," or even "Night" or "Streets of Fire."

On further listening, however, the complexity and cohesion of the album comes through. *The River* may not be as intense as *Darkness* nor as immediately likeable as *Born to Run*, but it is better than either.

Struggle is the theme of *The River*. Struggle against the confines of work, struggle to keep dreams alive, struggle to keep the person whole. This, of course, is not a new theme. In one way or another, it dominated the last two albums. But this time around there are no easy answers.

In the past, one fled into the night, or into a car, or into the streets—preferably all three. The odds were against you, but you made the fight, and there was the promise that you could win.

No longer. The streets, the nights, the cars all have their own dangers. Out in the streets there are "fallen angels" and "calling strangers," but they are "crying in defeat" and doing "their dances of the dead." The album ends with "Wreck on the Highway."

One other avenue is explored, rejected and resurrected: romantic love and (gasp!) marriage. In

song after song, the point is that you can't make it alone—going it alone, for whatever reason, is giving in, is admitting defeat. Worse, to try to make it alone makes you part of the problem. ("Point Blank," "Jackson Cage"). But the world is still there, still pressing ("The River," "Drive All Night"). Love and commitment present no escape, although lingering hope for escape is expressed in

"Fade Away" and "Drive All Night."

In the title cut, Springsteen asks, "Is a dream a lie if it don't come true?" His answer is a resounding "no." In song after song, the heroes and heroines are those who bounce back despite the failure of their dreams. It takes more courage to keep struggling than to give up: "You walk cool, but darlin' can you walk the line/And face the ties

that bind/The ties that bind."

The dreams have been battered, but they are still there, and must still be pursued. No longer is it possible to be a "man" by simply believing in the "promised land." It is necessary to keep on fighting and fighting. In "Two Hearts," perhaps the sleeper of the album, Springsteen lays it out: "Once I spent my time playing tough guy scenes/But I was living in a

world of childish dreams/Some-day these childish dreams must end/To become a man and grow up to dream again/Now I believe in the end."

The complexity of life is reflected in the placing of the songs. Innocuous, but joyous rockers like "Sherry Darling" and "Ramrod" are interspersed throughout the four sides, rather than dominating one or another. Springsteen simply did not want the intensity of "Darkness." His recent shows in Chicago and Milwaukee followed the same pattern—an intermingling of "serious" material and rockers.

Long-time Springsteen fans shouldn't be disappointed. The versions of the "Ties That Bind" and "Independence Day" are as good as those heard on the 1977 tour. "Point Blank" has been changed a great deal. My preference is for the older version, but the newer one clearly fits "The River," while the former was more appropriate for "Darkness."

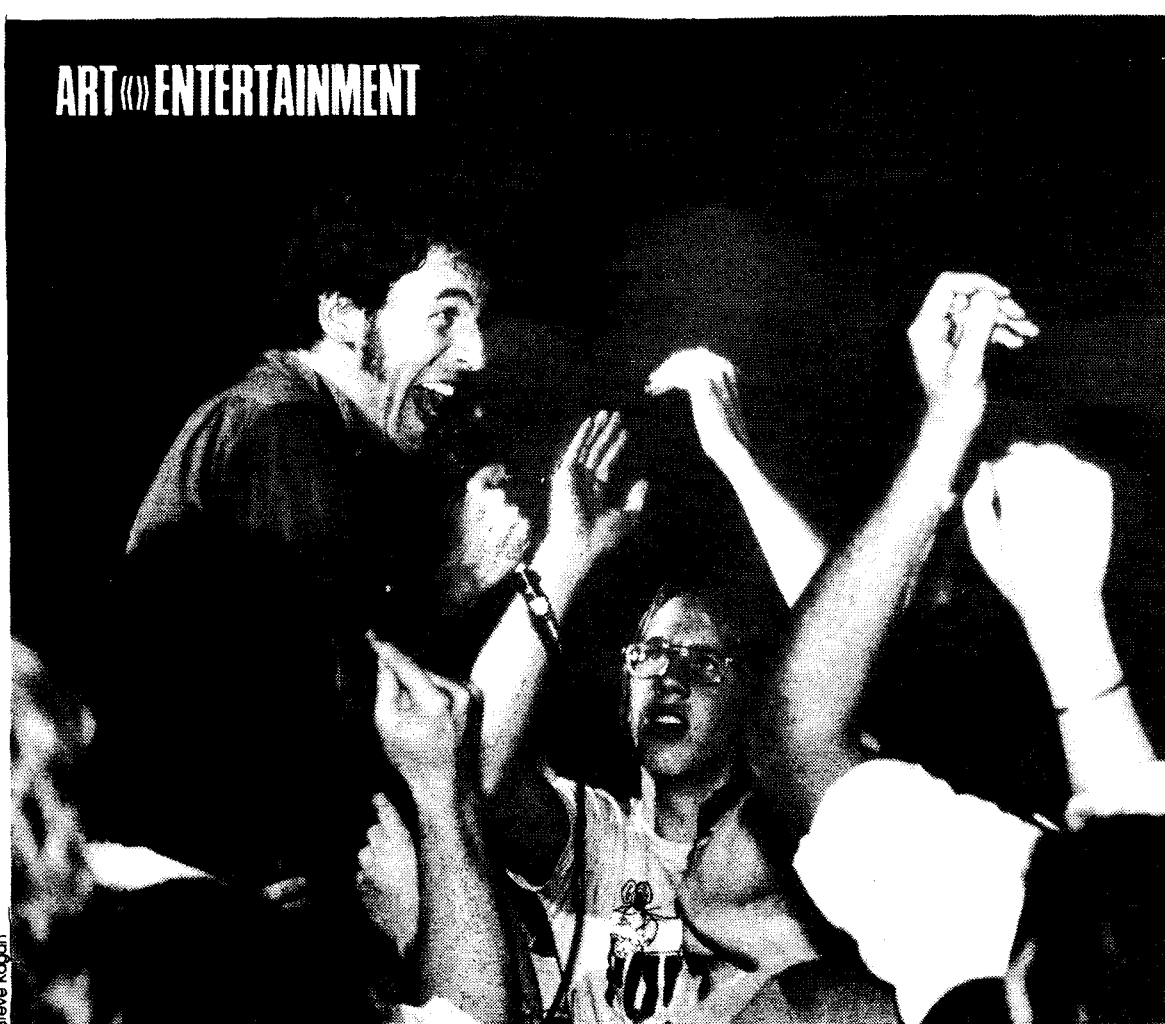
Although the album took a year and a half to complete, there is an immediacy in the music that was not present before. Those who remember '60s rock and the era's great bar band music will recognize much here. What Springsteen wants to do is to bring us the joy he found in rock. In that joy lies the strength to struggle. As he recently told the *Los Angeles Times*, "That is what great rock is about to me, it makes the dream seem possible. It's like I felt more dead than alive before I started music."

For 15 years, Springsteen has nourished himself on rock and roll. He brought many of us back to rock after disappointing flirtations with country and jazz.

He is not, to quote Jon Landau's infamous phrase, the "future" of rock and roll. He is its past and its present.

Steven Rosswurm teaches history at Lake Forest College.

ART & ENTERTAINMENT



MUSIC

Bruce finds binding ties

FILM

Easy street dreams, but at high interest

By Pat Aufderheide

Despite a title that makes it sound like a French bedroom farce come to Greenwich Village, *Melvin and Howard* is the gentle, ironic story of Melvin Dummar, beneficiary of the disputed Howard Hughes will. A laugh-with, not laugh-at populist comedy, it takes licks from Hollywood and TV formulas without limiting itself to them.

Writer Bo Goldman (*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*), director Jonathan Demme (*Citizens Band/Handle with Care*) and an excellent cast and crew have created an all-American hero who indicts the American dream without inducing or displaying cynicism, despair or contempt. If fact, Melvin's good humor in the face of adversity and run-of-the-mill reality is what gives that indictment its force.

"My wish for the movie," Demme said in September during the New York Film Festival (where the film premiered opening night to positive reaction and reviews), "is that audiences will understand the characters and respond to their problem—and, in this day and age, even like them—and if that gets them to think about the quality of life, fine. I think the challenge of day-to-day living in a consumer society when you're on the underbelly is a dramatic subject."

There couldn't be better raw

material for that subject than the real life of Melvin Dummar, winner of the biggest imaginary jackpot around. Permanent addict of pluck-and-luck mythology, Dummar has all his life looked for a way out of poverty, for vehicles of creative expression and for romance—usually all at the same time. While moving from job to job he wrote songs, invented gadgets, studied gambling, won on *Truth and Consequences* and showed up four times on *Let's Make a Deal*. All the while his salary checks were being decorated with garnishes to cover wild extravaganzas in consumer durables, and his first wife left him twice.

The news that Howard Hughes, whom Dummar claimed he had rescued one night in the desert, had rewarded him with a sixteenth of his estate came to exactly the right person. It was also perversely typical that the reward should be a mirage, and that his sweet dreams should become the object of public derision when the media picked up the story.

Star for a day.

Melvin and Howard looks at the easy street dream from the viewpoint of the people who really need it. Paul LeMat's Melvin (LeMat starred in *Citizens Band*) is neither a fool nor a victim, and he gives us a guided tour of the underbelly of our consumer culture.

The trashy glamour of it is

there, in jerrybuilt scenes that carry the raucous flavor of their subject matter. The centerpiece is the Dummar family's appearance on *Easy Street*, an analog for *Let's Make a Deal*. Mary Steenburgen (*Time after Time*) as Lynda Dummar tap-dancing her way to dollars succeeds in communicating how desperately she wants not only to win, but also to please and thus to become a star-for-a-day.

Celebrity and show business are all over the dreams of the Dummars. When Lynda runs away from home she becomes a stripper, having the time of her life dressing up in sequins. Melvin names his kid after a country and western singer. In his milkman job he aspires to become "Milkman of the Month." What's at stake is a TV, and, more important, celebrity status. When the Dummars remarry they do so with a \$39 Reno wedding, a ludicrous commercial caricature of traditional sentiment.

The movie is careful to show us what these gaudy pasties are stuck on to. Home life is all about the failures of consumer paradise. An opening scene shows the Dummars' crammed life in a rusting trailer. There's a later scene of the family dispiritedly watching TV in the afternoon, trying to outguess the gameshow contestants. Work life is full of a pettiness that drives them into daydreams and debt. Melvin has to pay for a

milk company's truck engine that blew up while he was driving, in exchange for recognition as "milkman of the month."

When even common decencies are hard to come by and fleeting, it makes a certain sense to shoot for celebrity. The sad part is the short-term tawdriness of the consoling glitter. Lynda is prepared to be a star for only a day. Melvin is resigned to not getting the money he knows he deserves. Both of them want to be decent family people and to be somebody—not so much to ask.

The contradictions of being among the working poor have taken up residence in the characters of Melvin and Lynda. He easily generates the fond exasperation that his kind of man—lovely to visit, a nightmare to share a bank account with—induces. The same stubbornness that makes him survive rotten luck also makes him a sucker for every new promise. She transmits a witty, vulnerable vitality, the kind that leads women to pick up no-good boyfriends who leave them pregnant.

In the Dummars' daily lives, here given to us with a rare friendly honesty, is a two-sided story of missed opportunity and false opportunity. The Dummars are more real than anything they aspire to.

For a while it looked like *Melvin and Howard* would be a victim of the blockbuster pattern of movie release. Low-low exhibi-



LeMat as Melvin.

tors' bids came in on it, and Demme got ready to watch the movie make a fleeting stop at theaters on its way to storage. But then Thom Mount, the Universal executive who had taken it as his pet project from the start, stepped in and held it for higher bids and a winter release after a debut at the New York Film Festival. Mount is a veteran of the antiwar movement who, as a feature-production executive has fostered other energetic, populist entertainment films, including *The Bingo Long Travelling All-Stars and Motor Kings*, *Car Wash* and *Smokey and the Bandit*.

Poland

Continued from page 11

tract." The terms of this contract are: (1) all parties to it accept the social ownership of the means of production as the base of Polish socialist society; (2) they recognize the leading role of the Polish United Workers Party in the state (although this formula is used in somewhat different wordings and its scope is far from clear); and (3) they accept the current structure of Polish alliances, meaning the relation with the Soviet Union. For some groups these points, particularly the second and third, constitute a concession, but thus far any group that rejects any of these three principles would put itself outside the national consensus. These principles define the limits of the possible and the criteria by which the legitimacy of any program for reforms is to be judged.

What is the maximal scope of reforms compatible with these principles? I believe it includes:

(1) A sovereign, superior role of the parliament within the state, including its own investigative body (which already exists), legislative initiatives, motions of non-confidence, etc.

(2) An electoral system that would guarantee the majority in the parliament to the Polish United Workers Party, thus allowing it to form governments, but would leave the remaining 49 percent of seats (or whatever is the safe margin) to open competition, including campaigning, competitive publications, etc.

(3) Right to organize and to associate on the condition that the organization does not advocate any goals that would be contrary to the basic terms of the agreement.

(4) Widespread autonomy for all voluntary associations, institutions of higher learning, cooperatives, cultural organizations, etc.

(5) Limitation of censorship to state secrets, matters of national security (including the structure of alliances) and, if the Church has its way, offenses to morality.

(6) The right to strike.

(7) The right and material capabilities for the unions to participate in economic decision-making at all levels.

(8) High reaching decentralization and autonomy for local governments, increased role of village councils, and their election without any constraints other than those regulating (3).

(9) An internal democratization of the party, including fixed terms for all elective offices, free and secret elections, full information of all party members about internal conflicts within the party.

(10) Economic reforms that might reduce the role of the state as the organizer of production and increase its role in mitigating social effects of the market.

What could divert the march of the Polish society toward democratic socialism? The Western media, in particular, sees the Soviet Union as the main threat. The argument runs that the Soviets cannot stand by idly as Polish workers organize and strike and as Polish democracy emerges. American and German newspapers headline troop movements on the Polish-Soviet border almost daily and their accounts of Polish events appear under alarmist stories of reactions in Moscow. This analysis is based on the traditional premises of anti-communism: "Communism" is somehow incompatible with "democracy," hence the Soviets must intervene to stop this threat.

This position seems unfounded. Polish events do not threaten the strategic interests of the Soviet Union as long as the consensus described above is in force. The process of democratization, even if it goes as far as I think it might, neither changes the position of Poland in the international structure of alliances nor permits an organization within Poland of forces hostile to the Soviet Union. To the contrary, reforms would solidify the national consensus that includes the principle of good relations with the Soviet Union. Many opposition circles that used to participate in anti-Soviet demonstrations before Gdansk already see such acts as ir-

responsible and injurious to reform. The Soviets may be concerned about the effects of the Polish events upon their own and other Eastern European societies, but there is no reason why they should attempt to solve their internal problems or East Germany's in Poland. The main danger I see is that Soviet leaders will be persuaded by the *New York Times* or *Der Spiegel* that the Polish events are a threat to them and that in the Western view they have good reasons to intervene.

More credible threats to the path of reform do exist. There are numerous indications that party and government bureaucrats entrenched during the Gierek period will defend their positions and privileges by all means. Moreover, any group within the party that seeks to contest leadership will have to make some compromise with the conservative and corrupt party apparatus, even if only to guarantee immunity for acts of corruption committed earlier. Perhaps most important, the party apparatus has no imagination, no initiative and still no understanding that the situation is qualitatively different and that democracy means some conflicts will be resolved against their interests. They still see conflicts as chaos, are impatient with democratic organization that extends the time necessary for conflicts to be resolved and that introduces procedural obstacles independent of the merits of a particular choice.



The burden on the party is immense. During the years of unchallenged power, the party grew, became bureaucratized and lost its ideological combativeness. With multiple social forces now competing—if not for power, then certainly for moral authority and ideological allegiance—the party will have to reassert its own moral authority within the society.

A great danger exists that the party leadership will continue to underestimate the depth of the transformations of recent months and the mobilizing power of the new union movement. If the party decides that the changes can be limited to the letter of the Gdansk agreement, it will continue to be forced to yield under pressure.

Not surprisingly, the newly emerging forces are no better prepared for democratic coexistence. The new unions combine a know-nothing attitude toward existing institutions with a naive vision of democracy. Much has been written about the responsibility of the Polish workers and all of it is true. But the orientation of the new unions is still entirely negative. Workers believe that the party is responsible for the material deprivations they experience. They reject any responsibility for the situation and any participation in the existing institutions, believing that to do so would lead to bureaucratization as it did after 1956. They rejected all offers of democratizing existing unions; they have equally emphatically rejected the party's offer to strengthen the Workers' Councils that appeared after 1956 and were eventually reduced to another cog in the bureaucratic machine. As Walesa told Jagielski in Gdansk, workers want to improve nothing; they want an independent union of their own.

Moreover, they reject arguments about the difficulty of the economic situation, about the need for moderating demands, and even about general interests of workers, because they know—again from experience—that the acceptance of such exhortations must lead to compromises in which workers will bear the brunt. The movement is simply too young to accept moderation. Its main tasks at the moment is to mobilize and this requires intransigence, despite the movement's own convictions and certainly against those of its advisers.

The Polish summer is a classical struggle for the right to organize, analogous to struggles fought in Western Europe decades ago. Trade unions emerged in Western Europe only after decades of struggle, often more bloody and more protracted

than in Poland. They provided an impetus for the democratization of entire societies, they evolved from intransigence to moderation and both employers and the state learned to live and cope with them. They continue to struggle for the right to organize against perpetual attempts to divide, coopt and suppress them. The right to strike became a carefully and strategically used weapon, restricted by numerous legal technicalities and by economic possibilities that the unions learned to calculate and anticipate.

Historical analogy encourages optimism, but nations do not experience their crises as repetitions. Neither the Polish workers nor even intellectuals see beyond their own immediate experiences. They perceive the situation as unique. After so many years in which the promise of improving material conditions remained unfulfilled, Poles have come to see democratization of political life as a panacea for all social ills, including economic. Hence, any indications that democracy may not be perfect are experienced as proof of the futility of reform. The clause requiring two weeks' notice before a strike—included in the first draft of new labor legislation—was received by the new unions as unfaithful to the principle of the right to strike. Indeed, my Polish interlocutors were incredulous when I recited some of the restrictions on unions in the U.S. Even the notion of a three-year

contract seemed unacceptable—Gdansk workers talked about new demands every two months and striking if they were not met.

Yet this lack of experience does not portend the defeat of the Polish experiment. Societies learn quickly under crisis conditions. I believe that the party has the will to change itself and to learn to live in a situation where its authority would have to be ideological and moral, not simply bureaucratic. I also believe that the unions will soon learn the realities of power relations and the intellec-

tuals will re-read their Michels.

The Polish workers have not simply conquered rights enjoyed by workers elsewhere. They conquered these rights in a country where the means of production are publicly owned. The challenge that Polish society faces is to develop relations that will combine widespread democracy with economic rationality. The main choices concern the role of the market in relations among consumers, firms and planners, and the structure of relations among the parliament, the government and the party. Ultimately, the economic question is by what mechanisms (market or not) will people be able to reveal their preferences as consumers and by what mechanisms (market or not) will people be persuaded as producers to orient production toward satisfaction of the revealed preferences. The political question is by what mechanisms will people be able to seek to persuade each other about the desired directions of national development, about superiority of some values over others and about the legitimacy of their particular interests.

These constitutional questions are at stake in Poland today and will continue to be for some time to come. Trial and error, and blunders, are inevitable, as are changes and reversals. Yet the fact that Polish society is at the threshold of this kind of exploration marks the moment as an historical turning point.

The ideological and political consequences of the events in Poland are incalculable. No society can ever serve as a blueprint for other societies because historical conditions are never the same. But thus far the "really existing socialism" has served most effectively as the prototype of something to be avoided. Italian Communists have been as eager to avoid any association with the Eastern European example just as Nicaraguan revolutionaries shy away from the path of Cuba. The effect of the "really existing socialism"—a horrible phrase in itself—was to push socialism off the agenda of movements for liberation throughout the world. The success of the Polish experiment might bring it back.

Adam Przeworski teaches political science at the University of Chicago. He is a Polish emigre and was in Poland recently.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

CHICAGO, IL

November 22

Come meet Victor Navasky, editor of "The Nation" and author of "Naming Names," from 1-4 p.m. on Saturday, at Guild Books & Periodicals, 1118 W. Armitage. Call (312) 525-3667 for more information.

LOS ANGELES, CA

December 6

Conference on "Christians and the Strug-

gle for Socialism" at Native American Methodist Church, 1345 W. 14th St., 9-5. Keynote: Gary MacEoin, Latin American specialist, author of "Revolution Next Door." Two films: "Controlling Interest" and "Revolution or Death" (on El Salvador). Cost: \$5.00 (includes lunch). Contact: Pat Reif, IHM, (213) 933-5943 or 384-3347.

NEW YORK, NY

November 24

Fighting those post-election blues? Come to a forum sponsored by NYC NAM and DSOC chapters. Speakers: Jim Chapin, DSOC National Director and Cynthia Ward, coordinator Democratic Agenda; for NAM, Alan Charney, NYC Citizens Party co-chair and Katherine Kennedy, Citizens Party National Executive Committee. Monday, 7:30 p.m., at 125 West 72nd Street.

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

Citizens Energy Project
1110 6th Street, NW, #300
Washington, DC 20001

The Citizens Party-National Office
1605 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20009

The Citizens Party of Illinois
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 332-2066

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
720 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

C.O.I.N.-Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities
2000 P Street, N.W.
Suite 413
Washington, DC 20036

DSOC-Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee
853 Broadway, Room 801
New York, NY 10003

Midwest Academy
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

National Center for Economic Alternatives
2000 P Street, N.W.
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

NAM-New American Movement
3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

New Patriot Alliance
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

Partido Cubano Democratico Socialista
Exterior Office
P.O. Box 350805
Miami, FL 33135
(305) 638-4880

Science for the People
897 Main Street
Cambridge, MA 02139

Socialist Party
1011 N. 3rd St., No. 201
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Working Women
1224 Huron Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44115

FILM CLIPS

It's My Turn. A small, graceless step back for women in film. Claudia Weill (*Girlfriends*) directs Jill Clayburgh and Michael Douglas as superannuated teenagers. The film has the weak points of *An Unmarried Woman*—women's problems from a comfortable perch on the socio-economic tree—with no Alan Bates as a consolation prize. Clayburgh is a nervous mathematician afraid of commitment and Douglas is a pro ball player adjusting to early retirement. They meet and mismatch at their parents' wedding. For no good reason it requires the rest of the film for Clayburgh to look her current boyfriend (Charles Grodin, the one who "gives her space" and "makes her laugh") and say (really), "You don't hear me!" The scriptwriter (Eleanor Bergstein) had a lot of control—perhaps a mistake in this case.

This is old stuff, even if the heroine is a brilliant young professor with a modish left. Clayburgh's problem is that she is an unmarried woman; she needs the love of a good man to make her life—and her work—work. The characters, very possibly accurate stereotypes, are self-centered enough to make their growing

relationship seem improbable. Clayburgh's charm fights hard to come through her spoiled-brat role, but loses; Douglas' nonchalance approaches indifference.

What is new is such uncritical celebration of adolescent behavior, here represented as part of middle-class women's liberation. The general enthusiasm for this creaky saved-by-love story is not heartening. Are we this desperate for films that give women lead roles with character, or is the life that this art imitates so narcissistic that even a brittle and unlovely version of itself will suffice?

The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith (New Yorker Films). A turn-of-the-century Australian tragedy. An aborigine (Tommy Lewis) tries to climb a very modest ladder of success in white settlers' terms and, in spite of a lifetime of patience and hard work, is betrayed. He goes berserk, kills a settler family and sets out for universal vengeance. He first drags his visiting brother into the war, but has to go on alone because he has violated aboriginal codes by murdering women and children.

This is a deeply moving film about a man between two cul-

tures as well as about economic and racial oppression. It recalls *The Harder They Come* for its insider's view of cultural alienation. Along with empathy for his injustice goes our frustration at seeing him stranded between ways of life. Our anger at his oppressors and at him (for his will to succeed in their terms) melds effectively, building to the grotesque, all-too-explicable scenes of murder.

Aboriginal life is not romanticized. The drink, poverty and prostitution of encampments feels real. But physical play, love of animals, respect for kin and reverence for the natural world are so ordinary a part of their actions that we come to see whites as absurdly stilted and crude. In part that realization is carried by carefully framed, beautifully photographed images of the natural world, just as equally careful framing of still lifes in households carries a sense of white men's order.

Depiction of casual cruelty of settlers on the verge of a smugly white nationhood must have hit a nerve in Australia, where calls for censorship of the film came from rural areas. They cited violence that producer-director Fred Schepisi describes as "a statement against violence."

Private Benjamin. A pleasant, funny movie with a topical theme. Goldie Hawn, producer as well as star, here rejects the

idea of woman as appendage—in favor of woman as cog in machinery. Well, how far did you expect a mainstream feature to go? The puzzle is not why the film does for the army what *Ordinary People* does for psychotherapists, but why with artistic control Hawn didn't get a less slapsticky part.

Still, she is irrepressibly funny, even when the movie seems more like a series of skits than a feature. She plays a Jewish princess who flees into the army from a life spent at Bloomingdale's when her second marriage collapses. In the army she learns (the hard way) the rewards of teamwork, the value of other

IN THESE TIMES NOV. 19-25, 1980 23 women's support and pride in responsible work. A romance with a Parisian gynecologist almost derails her, but by the end of the movie she is her own woman again—or at least not one man's woman.

Sure, the movie takes a risk in openly rejecting traditional roles for women. But then, it is not above a dykey tone for the female villain (Eileen Brennan). Finally, it's too bad that, having escaped domestic hell, Hawn settles into barracks humor. We await Private Benjamin's discovery that she has something to do besides buying things for groups of men.

—Pat Aufderheide

Goldie Hawn as Private Benjamin



CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

49 BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS. \$3.00, free sample. Discovery, Box 20331-IT, WVC, Utah 84120.

ENERGY ACTIVISTS: Read "Blueprint for Community Control of Energy," the model charter for Buffalo's proposed public power system. \$2.00. PPC, Box 404, Buffalo, NY 14205.

ALL PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS have their progressive publications and the newly emerging Jewish movement is no exception. Subscribe to "Genesis 2," a fresh independent progressive voice of Jewish news, opinion and the arts. \$6.00/year (8 issues). Genesis 2, 233 Bay State Rd., Boston, MA 02215.

BUTTONS, POSTERS, ETC.

BUTTONS/RUMPERSTICKERS Custom-printed (union shop). Lowest Movement prices for 20 years! Largest variety anti-nuclear and other fund-raising items in stock. Free catalog...call (516) 791-7929. Larry Fox, Box M-8, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

EDUCATION

CRITICAL STUDIES AT A STATE UNIVERSITY? Sangamon State University offers a fully accredited, self-designed degree program at the B.A. and M.A. levels in the Individual Option Program. Courses

MODERN BOOKS

407 S. Dearborn St., Suite 230
Chicago, IL 60605
312/663-9076

Midwest's widest selection of Marxist literature on Black & Labor History, Women, The Socialist World, Africa, Philosophy, Economics, Literature, etc., in English, Spanish.

Mon. thru Sat. 10-6
except Thur. 10-8

and other learning resources are available in many social change areas including: Socialist/Feminism; Anarchy Today; Radical Social and Political Theory; Marxism; Critical Theory; Community Organizing; Alternative Energy Systems; Institutional Racism; Eurocommunism and Radical Therapy. Financial aid is available. For more information, contact: Professor Robert Sipe, Sangamon State University, Springfield, IL 62708 or call (800) 252-8533.

RESOURCES

KOREAN HUMAN RIGHTS INFORMATION: 625 Post, #888A, S.F., CA 94109.

JANE FONDA on two twenty-minute video cassettes lecturing on "Grassroots Fundraising" and "Public Speaking." VHS or Beta. Designed for community-based organizations and schools. \$50 each.



Black Ink on Yellow, Tan, Light Blue, Red



Black ink on Red, Tan, Lt. Blue or Gold.

Sizes: Small to X-Large
\$5.50 each (post. paid)

Send to:
Northernsun Merchandising
1519 E. Franklin Ave.
Minneapolis, Minn. 55404

Laurel Springs Institute, 304 S. Broadway, #534, Los Angeles, CA 90013. (213) 625-1961.

GREAT KIDS BOOK LIST including summaries of books children love. Over 30 titles for age 3-7 proven through parent/teacher/child testing. \$3.00. CLR-I, P.O. Box 6541, Chicago, IL 60680.

FOR SALE

HAVE DRUGLESS SINUS RELIEF! Sinus sufferers. Find natural relief. This drugless method is inexpensive and used by doctors worldwide. Informative booklet explains all and is available by writing Hydro Med (TT), P.O. Box 91273, L.A. 90009. (Include \$2 to cover postage and handling.)

HELP WANTED

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR for Los Angeles-based grassroots community organizing project. Responsibilities include administration, fundraising, and community planning & program development. Salary: \$17-19,000 plus benefits. Send resume by Jan. 15 to Ocean Park Projects, 237 Hill St., Santa Monica, CA 90405.

SANTA BARBARA NEWS & REVIEW, dynamic leftist community newsweekly, seeks news editor with vision. Long hours, low pay, high community profile. Paper has 9,000 paid circulation, women and minorities encouraged to apply. Send resume to SB News & Review, 1930 De la Vina, Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

PROGRAM DIRECTOR WANTED for Secular Jewish Humanist Children's Camp. Experienced in hiring, training, supervising staff. Seasonal employment. Send resume to

Elsie Suller, Room 506 One Union Square West, New York, NY 10003.

COORDINATOR / SOUTH COAST NETWORK—skilled, experienced organizer needed to direct work of Network, a membership organization which acts as a citizen's lobby on local consumer, environmental and social issues, starting Jan. 1, 1981. Salary approximately \$900.00/month. Send resume to Network, P.O. Box 1346, Santa Barbara, CA 93102 by Dec. 15, 1980.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let In These Times be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: In These Times, Circulation Dept., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

B.U. STUDENT "UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPER" is fighting a first amendment battle with the administration and needs financial help to continue publishing in its sixth

Fast Cheap Accurate TYPESETTING

Typesetting can be expensive in these times, but not at IN THESE TIMES.

We're cheap, fast and accurate. We'll typeset your brochures, pamphlets and publications, and we'll guarantee our work to your satisfaction.

For estimates, references and scheduling, contact Bill Rehm, IN THESE TIMES • 489-4447
1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago

year. B.U. Exposure, 87 Adamson St., Allston, MA 02134.

HEALTH PRODUCTS

IMMUNO-AUGMENTATIVE CANCER THERAPY information on Dr. Lawrence Burton and his fight with the cancer establishment. Burton Information Network, Box 3171, Westville Station, New Haven, CT 06515.

PERSONALS

ORIENTAL WOMEN want to write you. Rainbow, Honokaa, Hawaii 96727.

Guild Books & Periodicals

1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614
(312) 525-3667

MEET VICTOR NAVASKY

Saturday, November 22 from 1-4 p.m.

Victor Navasky, editor of *The Nation*, has written an illuminating new book, *Naming Names*, about a very dark time in our recent history—Hollywood during the cold war. It is the first serious attempt to capture the painful history of not only the blacklist's victims but also the men and women who "named names."

Join the Army



travel to exotic distant lands meet exciting, unusual people and kill them.

T-SHIRT white design on hand screened 100% durable cotton. Shirt colors navy, red, green, royal blue, black. \$5.95 - \$1.00 P & H. Buttons or bumper stickers \$1.00 each. Print size, color, and address. PEACEMEAL GRAPHICS, P.O. Box 172-IT, Pgh. Pa. 15230.

Write your own classified ad here:

Classifieds

45¢ per word prepaid

Special Discounts

3-9 insertions 40¢ per word
10-19 insertions 35¢ per word
20+ insertions 20¢ per word

Send To:

1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60622

Going Home

By Sylvia Collier



EIGHT HUNDRED PAIRS OF eyes are fixed toward a single spot in the dark African night at the edge of the bush. Eight hundred small boys stand in still, straight lines. Fugitive children, in lines without a movement. Silent. Waiting. Watching. One of their teachers, in a black raincoat with no buttons, has a radio. It's Voice of America news. For a moment everyone listens as staccato announcements too random to remember bounce into the night, a non-sensical diversion from waiting.

At last the hoarse wail of the train. The engine clatters and grinds to a standstill, filling their stares. Low murmurs ripple along the lines of waiting children. Electric light bulbs from the open station platform flicker over their heads. The first group is beckoned forward, children in a wild assortment of cast-off T-shirts and trousers too short and worn boots without laces, the random clothing of refugees. They walk briskly in line toward the train, thrust the bags holding all they possess in the world up through the doorway and pull themselves in.

And only then do they smile, a few of them still child enough to be wide-eyed, now they're on the train that will take them through Zambia, over the great Zambezi, across the border and, at last, home to Zimbabwe.

This is the homecoming of children who have grown up in exile. With the return, in convoys of 800 at the time, of the 16,000 boys and girls who were sheltered in refugee camps in Zambia, Zimbabwe's new generation is on the move.

Flight.

"I want to study. I want to be a scientist in my country," says Morgan Ndlovu. He is thin, small, and his face is bright with optimism. It darkens when he tells you he has no idea if his parents are alive or dead.

"I remember the day when the soldiers came looking for freedom fighters in our village and they burned our houses. My father said, 'My son, if you don't run away you'll die.' I went that night. I took nothing with me. I don't know what happened to my father. The Boers tortured him and he was ill. I walked and ran into the bush. I was running for

three days and nights until I got over the border."

Thousands of young children fled the way he did, some carrying smaller brothers and sisters as parents were herded into detention, or worse. But even in Zambia the bombers dropped terror out of the sky. Refugee camps had to be moved, and then moved again, because of the bombing raids by Rhodesian forces. Food supplies were tragically inadequate. Malnourishment killed hundreds of children. Morgan Ndlovu was moved to a camp far into the bush in northern Zambia, named after Zimbabwe war hero Jason Moyo and staggering for its sheer size. Twelve thousand boys lived here for three years.

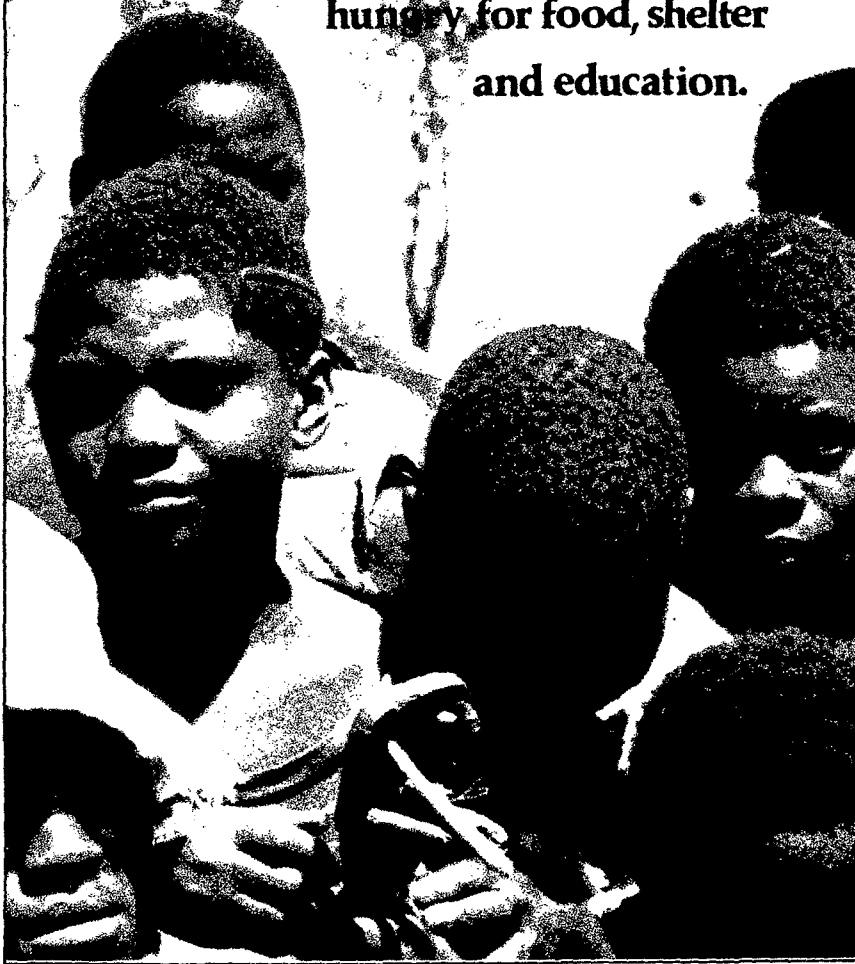
Here, "family" for Morgan came to mean the other five he shared a tent with, or the other 50 he studied with in makeshift forest classrooms, or even all 12,000 huddled deep in the bush where the red earth turned to burning dust in the hot sun and dark, sticky mud when the rains came.

Here, there were 126 football teams, several dozen choirs and countless amateur guitar makers, improvisors like boys anywhere with string and empty cans. Five tons of maize porridge were cooked every day. Two hundred teachers taught 238 classes.

Nkomo's Patriotic Front—often criticized for saving their skins in Zambia while Robert Mugabe's guerrillas fought the war—decided to set up schools in

the Zambian refugee camps. The Party's education coordinator, Sydney Machaka, explained, "It was very difficult to start. The children wanted to go and fight instead. We had boys and girls in the camps—some as young as nine and 10 years old—who wanted to learn how to shoot. They wanted to go back and fight the regime." Young boys exaggerated their ages when Nkomo's men visited the camps to swell their ranks. The thousands who were left were placed in a rigorous education program, studying for British academic examinations and learning practical skills. It was a gift the children grasped, knowing the privilege of education to be far superior to anything they would have received back home.

Thousands of Zimbabwe's new generation return each month—hungry for food, shelter and education.



They also learned to regard Joshua Nkomo as their leader. And they absorbed the philosophy of his teachers. "The children were given orientation that we hope will help them realize the evils of capitalism," Machaka said. "Capitalism, exploitation of man by man, is enemy number one."

Tightrope.

In Zimbabwe Mugabe and his ruling ZANU have been going out of their way to reassure capitalists that far from being adversaries they are welcome colleagues.

Former guerrilla fighter in Mugabe's army Dr. Sydney Sekeramayi is now the minister heading up the government department handling resettlement of refugees. In Salisbury he explained, "This is a capitalist country...for the time being. We admit we inherited a capitalist state."

"Here, it is not like Mozambique where the Portuguese fled and our comrades had no alternative but to take over whatever they left. Here in Zimbabwe we did not have Portuguese. We had Zimbabweans. They had nowhere to run."

"So we have got ourselves into this tricky situation. If they had fled we would have just taken over. But they didn't flee. They are here and they are saying they want to contribute as much as they can. We are really walking a tightrope on this one."

It's a tightrope kept taut by the failure of the West to come up with aid as the government juggles with industrialists and financiers who control Zimbabwe's economic prospects and the country's blacks, expectant of heady change.

Minister Sekeramayi's task is increasingly urgent. A million people were driven from their homes in the war. An estimated 10,000 are returning to their tribal homelands every month—and they are largely dependent on government food shipments for survival until their own planting, again through government programs, can produce crops to replace the war's devastation.

Every month, people gather in the thousands to wait for the trucks that distribute 3,000 tons of food to 526 locations throughout the country. One way or another the government is trying to ensure that individuals without work receive each month 10 kilos of staple maize meal, one each of enriched soup powder, beans, sugar and powdered milk, half a kilo of dried fish, nuts and salt, plus half a bar of soap.

The program uses funds channeled through the United Nations to buy from Zimbabwe's own producers, generating employment and strengthening the domestic economy—thanks to far-sighted planning that rejected World Food program offers of donated surplus from the West. But the money is never enough, and next spring it will run out.

Long before then the government will be grappling with another major problem for its people going home: education. Schooling has been made free for most families but Zimbabwe's already overloaded education system needs 8,000 new teachers just to keep up with population expansion.

The government has pledged to set up new schools to cope with the returning refugee children—who are insisting on staying together, partly because many have no parents to go back to, and partly because they are determined to continue the education they began in the refugee camps.

And now the last train has rattled over the border into Zimbabwe bringing home its last convoy of children, hanging out of the windows to grin at the people who came out of their villages to wave them on their way. ■

Sylvia Collier, a London journalist, recently returned from a trip to Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Sylvia Collier